

A. F. OF L. CONCLAVE UNDER WAY AT SAN FRANCISCO

NUMBER 1951
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The American **FEDERATIONIST**



**A. F. of L.
CONVENTION
PREVIEW**

STORY AND PHOTOGRAPH BY
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Let's Teach

The founders of the American Federation of Labor had tremendous faith in this wonderful land of ours. They battled every inch of the way for decent wages, shorter hours, better working conditions. Many were killed, others beaten. Faced with hostile courts and laws, these men and women had the perseverance to stick with their ideals.

There are a few of the old school left. There are still some who had to battle the hard way for the gains labor is enjoying today. These folks find it increasingly difficult to instill their ideals and theories into the minds of the new members.

New and younger members of unions are often called "Johnny-Come-Latelies." This, of course, is not Johnny's fault—he can't help it if he was born thirty years too late.

There is a great job to be done in educating the younger members in the background and history of their labor movement. It's a certainty that high school graduates do not have any training as to the history of the American Federation of Labor. If they study anything at all about labor, they might find it in their history or economics books, but these short references will tell only of some outstanding strike, such as the Pullman strike or the Homestead strike. And usually, in the textbooks, the strikers are depicted as a bunch of "foreign ruffians."

The great contributions that the workers of the country have made in the building of the nation are never considered. Few if any book reports are requested on such outstanding labor figures as Samuel Gompers, Peter J. McGuire, William Green, Mother Jones.

In attempting to educate the younger members of unions as to the whys and wherefores of unions, it might be wise to seek a thorough system of labor education in our high schools and even our colleges.

Richard Estep.

THIS MONTH'S COVER

An artist's impression of the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. Freedom of expression is the rule. Floor microphones are available for delegates representing small, middle-sized or large organizations. Everybody has the right to talk.

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1951



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Labor at San Francisco

70th A. F. of L. Convention Under Way

THE seventieth convention of the American Federation of Labor is now in session. The convention, which finds the Federation at all-time peaks in membership and prestige, is meeting in the Civic Auditorium in San Francisco, fabulous city by the Golden Gate. The parley opened September 17 and is expected to continue for about ten days. Some 700 delegates, representing eight million American working men and women, are in attendance.

President William Green opened the convention with the traditional keynote address. He pledged that the A. F. of L. will continue to lead the fight of free people against Communist imperialism and tyranny. Soviet Russia, with its despicable system of slavery, must be battled "until that nation is decisively defeated," Mr. Green declared.

"Come what may," he warned the Kremlin dictatorship, "under no circumstances will we ever permit Soviet Russia to dominate the entire world."

The A. F. of L. leader called for a continuing all-out effort by labor to wipe out the anti-labor Taft-Hartley Act, which has been on the statute books for the past four years. He denounced the act as "highly reprehensible and un-American."

"We'll fight on and on and on until it's repealed," Mr. Green promised. "If we can't make it tomorrow or the next day, it doesn't matter. We'll keep up the fight until we win."

He appealed to Congress to "protect the consumers of America" with adequate price controls before it adjourns this fall.

If Congress refuses to take the necessary action to combat the inflationary price increases, he said, "then we've got to unite

our votes at the ballot box and keep those Congressmen home who refuse to act for us."

Other speakers on the opening day of the convention were Secretary of Labor Maurice J. Tobin and Governor Earl Warren of California. Mr. Tobin drew cheers with a demand for a completely new labor-management relations law to replace the hostile Taft-Hartley Act. He emphasized that attempts to patch up the present law cannot succeed "because they don't get at the spirit of the act."

"The spirit of the law is hostile to the growth of free labor unions and to the development of free collective bargaining," the Secretary of Labor declared.

Governor Warren, who welcomed the convention to California, appealed to all the delegates to "intensify and expand your interest and participation in government—not only in voting, not only in industrial affairs but in all phases of government."

The annual report of the Executive Council was distributed to the delegates as the conclave opened. The report filled a book of more than 200 pages and covered scores of subjects of interest and significance to organized labor. The document dealt with various international as well as national issues. As at previous conventions, it was expected that the report of the Executive Council would be the basis for many of the important actions which will be taken by the delegates before the final gavel falls.

The Executive Council made known in the report that the American Federation of Labor continues in a state of readiness to resume talks with the Congress of Industrial Organizations looking to organic labor unity. Noting that the last meeting of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. to discuss labor unity was held in August, 1950, with further conferences postponed because of the state of President Philip Murray's health, the Executive Council said:



San Francisco, 'Bagdad of the West Coast,' is an outstanding union town



Scene of the convention is the Civic Auditorium in the romantic metropolis of the Golden West

"Our committee has stood ready, since August, 1950, to meet with the C.I.O. whenever the condition of President Murray's health made this possible. However, there has been no indication on the part of Murray or C.I.O. representatives since that time of any desire to resume the negotiating conferences looking toward organic unity of the American labor movement."

Taking up the hated Taft-Hartley Act, the Executive Council said flatly:

"Only repeal of the T-H Act can eliminate the stultifying effect the act has had upon traditional labor activities."

The Council reported sizable expenditures on the Frank Edwards radio news broadcasts and on expanded information and publicity services. The investment was termed "well worthwhile." Expenses for the fiscal year which ended August 31 exceeded receipts, thus reducing the Federation's cash balance. The Council recommended in its report to the convention that the delegates authorize an increase in the per capita tax paid monthly by national and inter-

national unions from three cents to four cents a member.

Progress in the organizing field was reported. The advances made during the year, the Executive Council noted, were achieved "in spite of adverse national and state labor laws and the flood of anti-labor propaganda."

Support of the proposal for national health insurance was strongly reaffirmed by the Council. The American Medical Association's propaganda smear campaign against health insurance was denounced. The Council also called for other necessary measures to improve the health of the American people.

A substantial portion of the Council's report was devoted to education. Labor must have wider representation on boards of education, the Council said. It insisted that the teacher's personal civil liberties must be completely protected and it assailed the brazen efforts of Tory groups to dictate what shall be taught in the public schools.

"The teacher must be free to teach the truth," the Council said. "He must also be free himself."

The total paid membership of the

American Federation of Labor's affiliates as of August 31 was listed as 7,846,245. This figure is based on the actual per capita tax received at Washington headquarters. One year earlier the Federation's membership total was 7,142,603.

The Administrative Committee of Labor's League for Political Education, meeting in San Francisco, moved to divorce the American Federation of Labor from intimate association with the C.I.O. in political contests.

"United action by all unions in support of the same candidates is obviously desirable," the Administrative Committee said. "However, unity of action rather than unity on the letterhead is what's important. If anything, in 1950 too much emphasis was placed on having all branches of labor publicly listed as sponsoring every pamphlet or billboard under some such title as United Labor Political Committee."

"In some instances that only played into the hands of our enemies, who pointed to our own publicity and said, 'See, the labor bosses have teamed up to purge me.'"

WE MUST FACE THE FACTS

by George Meany

THE world is gripped in crisis. Our own nation faces the gravest problems in history. We find ourselves being pushed toward the brink of another world war. That tragedy continues to threaten us despite all our efforts to prevent it. It menaces not only America but the whole free world.

Scientists have tried to interpret the causes of previous wars in terms of economic imbalances, population pressures or even the intrigue of profiteering munitions-makers. No such cause is apparent in the present crisis. Instead, we have to dig back into history for precedent, to the days when tyrants set out to conquer the world by force and fear. That is exactly what the dictatorship of Soviet Russia is trying to do today.

The sooner we face this truth, the better we will be prepared to cope with it.

The sooner we convince the people of other free nations of Moscow's true motives, the stronger will their determination to resist become.

Too many people in America still seem to feel that Russia will never dare to attack us directly and that we, therefore, should not intervene when the Communists invade any other free nation. That kind of isolationism is suicidal. If we forfeit the rest of the world to Russia, we without question surrender our own future.

Too many people in the lands we are now helping to protect seem to think that it is still possible to prevent further aggression by appeasement of the Communists. Such a course would prove fatal.

Now or never, we must halt the aggressive march of communism. Sooner or later, we must draw a line

around the Iron Curtain which encloses Soviet Russia and her satellites and notify them:

"Cross this line at your peril."

Until and unless we take such a firm stand, peace will be constantly in peril. We will never know where the next "Korea" is likely to break out, whether in Iran, in Yugoslavia or even in Berlin. The Kremlin, through its satellites, will continue to exert pressure upon us at every point to keep us off balance.



SECRETARY MEANY

But if the Soviet leaders were made to understand in clear and unmistakable terms that further aggression anywhere against free nations would subject the Kremlin itself to retaliatory attack, there would be no more aggression.

It is obvious that Soviet leaders are not yet ready to risk outright war with us which would bring mass bombing of Russian territory. Instead, they are feeling us out on the

fringes of the Iron Curtain, testing our will to resist as well as our ability to resist. To the Communists, with a surplus manpower supply, human life is freely expendable in such operations. But they cringe from the thought of a devastating body-blow at Russian industrial centers which would cripple their war potential and might even encourage the oppressed Russian people to revolt against the dictatorship which now enslaves them.

For that matter, our own government in America is not yet ready for a real showdown with the Kremlin. Despite the war in Korea and an announced policy of resistance against Communist aggression in Asia and Europe, we have not come to grips with the heart of the problem.

We are sparring for time until our defense production program is completed and until the defenses of Western Europe can be strengthened.

One reason why we are proceeding over-cautiously is because of political disunity here at home on the important question of foreign policy. To my mind, the disintegration of America's bi-partisan foreign policy which followed the illness and death of Senator Vandenberg has been little short of tragic. Senator Vandenberg left no heir in the Republican Party. Its foreign policy leadership appears to have been taken over by a few blatant blockheads who either lack comprehension of the terrible danger we face or are willing to gamble with the security of the nation in the hope of gaining partisan political advantage.

Fortunately, these misleaders of the Republican Party cannot control Congress on foreign affairs. But they have teamed up with the Dixiecrat element in the Democratic Party in a

Congressional coalition which commands voting control on most domestic issues. The results have been damaging to the defense program, destructive to the nation's economy and disastrous to labor.

An example which affects every family in America is the new Defense Production Act. In a time of national emergency, when inflationary pressures were becoming more severe daily, the Congressional coalition deliberately wrote into this law provisions which, instead of keeping prices down, are bound to force prices up.

Callously rejecting appeals from the President, from such conservative leaders as Bernard Baruch and from labor, the coalition listened only to Big Business and corporate farm interests anxious to reap a profit harvest from the distressed consumers of this nation.

IN ALL our history there is no precedent for such a brazen betrayal by Congress of the public interest in a national crisis. Labor will not let this issue die. We will never give up the fight against inflation. We are determined to carry on the fight—not for labor alone but *for all the American people*.

The opportunity is at hand. President Truman has called upon Congress to repeal the three worst provisions of the economic controls law. The coalition is on the spot. Every effort is being made to force a vote on this issue before Congress adjourns.

If the coalition seeks to avoid the issue or if it succeeds in defeating the proposals to improve the law and protect consumers, the voters of this country will know whom to hold responsible for unjustified increases in the cost of living.

The American Federation of Labor is convinced that this is the clearest example yet presented to the American people of the accumulating misdeeds of the reactionary bloc in Congress since 1946. This coalition of the diehard elements in both the Republican and the Democratic Parties is responsible for the enactment of the Taft-Hartley Law, which restricts the freedom and the growth of organized labor. It has been responsible for one-sided tax laws favoring the wealthy as against low-income groups, for inadequate hous-

ing legislation, for deteriorating standards in our educational system and for stultifying the nation's social security program.

To a large extent, this shameful record has not yet penetrated the public consciousness. Experts in political education claim that most of these issues are too technical and complicated.

But when the housewives and the wage-earners of the nation get hit in the pocketbook by exploding price ceilings, they will not hesitate to hit back at the lawmakers who deserted their interests.

When the price of meat goes up because Congress refused to permit much-needed rollbacks, the customers will be interested in learning how their Senators and Congressmen voted on that issue.

When the cost of clothing and furniture goes up because of cost-plus-profit guarantees in the controls law, the people will want to know how their elected representatives in Congress voted on that provision.

The American Federation of Labor is going to tell them. We are going to prepare boxscores on the key roll-call votes. *We are going to conduct the broadest political education program in labor's history for the 1952 elections.*

Our trade union movement is entering the political arena not by choice but from necessity. In Congress and in the state legislatures we have found that the Big Business interests have been able to wipe out, almost overnight, freedoms and gains that the working people of this country were able to win only after years

of patient organization and collective bargaining.

We are determined to halt and reverse that trend. We do not believe that the American people, once they know all the facts, will want to march backwards with the reactionaries and erase the progress which has helped to make the American standard of living the highest in the world.

To those political strategists who are attempting to corral organized labor into their own political camp, let me issue a note of warning: The working people of this country are not going to be lassoed and hogtied. Our labor movement represents perhaps the largest independent political force in this country. We are going to stay independent. *We will permit no political party to place its brand on us.*

Everything that the workers of America ever achieved in economic and social progress we got by fighting for it. We intend to put up the same kind of fight now in the political arena. We will support candidates for public office who deserve our support; we will oppose candidates who have earned our opposition. But in each case the record—not the political label—will be the controlling factor.

With a full vote, we hope to be able to elect in 1952 the kind of government that will strive intelligently for peace but be fully prepared for war; the kind of government that will promote the interests of all the people, not merely a favored few; the kind of government that the American people want and need in the critical days which lie ahead.



Flanagan Is Named to Defense Post

Daniel V. Flanagan of San Francisco, who in recent years has been a regional director of organization for the A. F. of L., is now serving Uncle Sam. Mr. Flanagan was recently sworn in as deputy assistant administrator to Defense Production Administrator Manly Fleischmann and is now on the job in Washington. The hard-working Californian is helping Joseph D. Keenan, assistant D.P.A. administrator, on labor aspects of the agency's task. Mr. Flanagan is a member of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.



MR. BATES

Congress Says NO to Homes for Workers

Lack of decent housing at rents that are within reason places the defense program in jeopardy, but solons don't seem to care

By HARRY C. BATES

Chairman, A. F. of L. Housing Committee

rents have turned around and gone right back home.

Congress has failed to recognize the jeopardy in which the entire defense program is placed by the lack of decent housing for defense workers. In the face of the glaring facts before it, Congress has closed its eyes to the critical need for housing in defense areas.

One grim warning has come from President A. J. Hayes of the International Association of Machinists. In a letter to members of a House committee, Hayes said that "unless action is taken immediately to provide adequate housing at rents workingmen can afford, we will be unable to provide sufficient manpower to meet the expanding production schedules."

Despite such warnings, Congress was unwilling to get away from its business-as-usual attitude. For many months it did nothing about defense housing. Finally, it passed a so-called defense housing bill, but this bill is intended primarily to pull the private builders out of a slump rather than to provide necessary housing for defense workers. In fact, there is no evidence that Congress gave any consideration to the primary objective of any defense housing bill worthy of the name—assurance of an adequate number of homes in defense areas at rents workers can afford to pay.

The Defense Housing Act of 1951 authorizes \$1,500,000,000 for mortgage insurance of housing to be constructed by speculative builders. Strangely enough, these funds are not restricted in their use to defense areas, but can be used anywhere in the country.

Experience thus far, as well as estimates by the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency, indicate that rents for the units to be built under this program in defense areas will range *from \$85 to \$110 a month*. This means that workers forced to rent these houses will have to stint on food, medical care and other essential family expenditures in order to pay exorbitant rents. At least one-third of the workers in these areas will not be able to pay such high rents, no matter how far they strive to stretch their paychecks.

There is one provision in the new act which permits public financing of moderate rental housing in defense areas when private builders cannot or will not provide such housing. But as it passed Congress, that program is limited to the pitifully small number of about 5,000 units for the entire country.

Yet, to meet the current needs, more than 5,000 units could be used in a single area such as San Diego, California, or Wichita, Kansas!

A FEW weeks ago the country was shocked into indignation by newspaper accounts of ramshackle hovels and shacks in which servicemen and their families are living in many of the Army camp areas around the country.

A Senate subcommittee has looked into the situation further and has found that, if anything, the press had understated the unbelievable conditions under which many servicemen's families are forced to live.

The subcommittee discovered a doll house in Waverly, Kentucky, which was built as a play house for a small girl. It has been rented to a sergeant, wife, three children and mother-in-law for \$45 a month. Near Camp Breckenridge, Kentucky, a corporal and his family of three are living in a shack made of bottles and cans. Other servicemen and their families are paying outrageous rents in converted garages, firetrap "hotels" and trailer camps where even minimum sanitary facilities are non-existent.

The no less shocking housing conditions in many mushrooming defense production areas are a national scandal which has not received the same attention as the camp area problem. Workers moving into these areas—many of them already extremely overcrowded—have found that the only housing they could obtain for themselves and their families were shacks, slum dwellings and even broken-down buses. Many prospective defense workers faced with such intolerable housing conditions and outrageous

Only one provision in the bill will benefit workers. This is a relaxation of down payments required on lower-priced houses. Credit regulations established by the government in October, 1950, required such high down payments on lower-priced houses that there has been a decided shift toward construction of houses for the well-to-do.

Under the terms of the new bill, the minimum down payment required on houses costing less than \$12,000 has been reduced. The reduction in the required down payment should make it easier for at least some workers to buy new houses if builders will make some effort to construct homes in the lower-priced brackets.

While Congress has ignored the critical need for housing in defense areas, it has also slashed the low-rent public housing program for low-income families. In 1949 Congress authorized a six-year program of 810,000 units of low-rent public housing. This should have meant that 135,000 families each year would be able to move out of run-down, unsanitary, crime-breeding slums into healthful surroundings and decent homes.

The terrible need of decent homes for the millions of families now living in slums has not diminished one bit during the present defense emergency. Certainly, the continued need of low-income families for decent housing should have given this program an A-1 priority in our total housing construction.

Instead, Congress, succumbing to the pressures of the real estate lobby, has slashed this program so that only 50,000 units can be started during the next year.

This is a blow to the low-income families of the country. The A. F. of L. has maintained and continues to maintain that the 135,000 units a year authorized by Congress in 1949 are the very minimum that must go forward as long as we are able to continue any civilian housing.

To add to the housing worries of workers and their families, Congress recently authorized a 20 per cent increase in rents over the June 30, 1947, level in units subject to rent control. Increases in rents since June 30, 1947, are supposed to be subtracted from the 20 per cent.

Nevertheless, the 20 per cent provision will mean a substantial rise in the rents now paid by thousands

of families throughout the country.

One good provision in the new rent control law will make it possible to establish rent controls in many areas which have previously been decontrolled or have never been under rent control. This can be done either on the request of the local governing body or by joint certification of the Secretary of Defense and the Director of Defense Mobilization that the area qualifies as a "critical defense housing area."

Action taken immediately to establish rent controls—in areas not now under control—may help to stem the tide of rent gouging and skyrocketing rents that is already plaguing many workers, particularly in the expanding defense areas.

However, one or two bright spots in the picture will not blind labor to

the fact that Congress has had a very sorry record on housing during the present session. The reactionary coalition which is in control of Congress thinks it has closed the books on housing. Yet our members, their families and friends must let their Congressmen know in unmistakable terms that housing is still one of the major items of unfinished Congressional business.

Adequate defense housing, homes for low-income families in low-rent public housing projects and an effective rent control program are the main planks in the A. F. of L.'s housing program. Congressmen who continue to regard housing for workers as a non-essential "luxury" must be made to realize that they cannot expect to receive labor support when they seek reelection.



These are samples of the "housing" available around Army camps at sky-high rentals. The situation in regard to decent shelter for defense workers is just as bad. But Congress just fiddles.

At Your SERVICE

24 HOURS A DAY

By WILLIAM L. McFETRIDGE
President, Building Service Employees International Union

LIKE many other things, the title "building service" baffles some people—until they know what it means. Then it's simple!

You see building service workers practically every day of your life. They are the people who work quietly, behind the scenes, to keep America's buildings clean, safe and comfortable for everyone.

The cleaning woman working at night in the quiet office, cleaning and polishing desk, floor and bookcase.

The watchman who guards the building during those solitary hours.

The window washer who daily risks his life in order to bring the blessings of sunlight into office and factory.

The elevator operator who saves you thousands of steps.

The fumigator who destroys roach and rat.

The janitor who brings order into apartment-house living.

The school custodian, who has been called the "keeper of the house of democracy" because he protects your youngsters from dust and germs, from unsafe floors.

All these are *building service* workers.

Two hundred thousand of these workers are members of an A. F. of L. union organized for their welfare—the Building Service Employees International Union.

Thirty years ago, when this union was chartered by Samuel Gompers and his fellow A. F. of L. officers, conditions under which building service workers lived and worked bordered on slavery. Their hours were limitless. Their pay was small. Their job rights were nil.

The apartment house janitor, for example, was expected to be on call all hours of the day and night. When



MR. McFETRIDGE

he applied for a job, he was expected to prove that he had a strong, healthy wife who could help carry the burden of the job. He was forced to accept wretched living quarters, usually in a basement, as a part of his small wage. And when he was arbitrarily fired, he found himself not only without a job but also without a home!

Apartment janitors organized a federal union around the turn of the century. One of their leaders, William Quesse, quickly saw the need of organizing nationally. In 1915 he appealed to the A. F. of L. for a charter. The 1920 A. F. of L. convention, in Montreal, approved the idea, and a charter was issued the next year.

The new national union started with seven locals of about 10,000 members. Quesse became the first president and served with honor and distinction until his untimely death in 1928.

The union grew steadily though slowly during the early years. At its 1930 convention, held in Vancouver, a membership of 18,000 was represented by the leaders of sixty-two local unions. The delegates to this convention discussed the new international magazine, "Public Safety," which was published until 1937, recorded their support of political leagues to carry out the A. F. of L. policy of "electing friends and defeating enemies" and opposed prohibition.

Both organizing and collective bargaining were largely local union responsibilities in the Twenties and Thirties. In both fields the locals made substantial progress. Several locals had built up impressive memberships. Practically all had—through collective bargaining—rescued their members from miserable working conditions and increased their wages.

The real period of progress for the international union began in 1940. The spirit with which Quesse had endowed the organization was revived.

The Building Service Employees International Union has a General Executive Board consisting of the president, the secretary-treasurer, six vice-presidents and the trustee. The latter is Elizabeth Grady of Chicago, one of the outstanding women in the American labor movement and the only surviving charter member of the international union. William H. Cooper of Milwaukee is the secretary-treasurer. The vice-presidents are David Sullivan and Thomas Shortman of New York, Charles Levey of Pittsburgh, Gus Van Heck and Thomas Burke of Chicago, and George Hardy of San Francisco.

When the present administration

took office in 1940, the B.S.E.I.U. membership was approximately 60,000. Today it approaches 200,000. A large part of this growth is the result of planned organizing and of giving increased assistance to local organizational campaigns.

Organizing new members has been centralized and consolidated; it is today a planned rather than a haphazard activity. While formerly organizing was left entirely to local union initiative, today the essential initiative and direction rest in the international union. As a result, the B.S.E.I.U. has tripled its membership in a decade.

It has unionized the building service workers in offices, apartment houses, schools and other large buildings in the principal U.S. and Canadian cities, and it has begun their organization in new fields, such as colleges and universities, ball fields and other stadiums, public housing and atomic energy projects.

Since 1940 the B.S.E.I.U. has undertaken several new activities. In 1942 a death gratuity system was begun. In urging the establishment of the system, the present writer told the 1942 convention that unions should not pile up huge treasures, but the dues paid in by the members should revert to the members in benefits.

The international gratuity system was installed without raising per capita taxes and, from 1943 through 1945, \$100 gratuities were presented to the beneficiaries of members who had died in gratuity standing.

The gratuity system worked so well

that the 1945 convention boosted the maximum gratuity to \$500. At the present time our international union pays out over \$500,000 in death benefits every year.

A new international publication, the magazine *Building Service Employe*, debuted in 1942 under the editorship of Secretary-Treasurer Cooper. This magazine has developed into an effective educational vehicle. It has received a number of prizes in the annual International Labor Press of America contests.

The B.S.E.I.U.'s educational program was expanded in 1943 with the establishment of a department of research and education. A second pub-

lication, the monthly *Report to Locals*, was created in order to facilitate getting news and educational materials to the officers of affiliated local unions. A program of new-member education was begun. And encouragement and assistance were given to the member, steward and vocational educational programs of the local unions.

Our organization shares the increasing interest in legislative developments common to most labor organizations today. We maintain a special legislative representative in Washington. Our officers and representatives make frequent trips to the nation's capital in order to meet with Congressmen and appear at committee



Building service workers are the people who keep the country's buildings clean and comfortable for everyone. Window washers, cleaning women, elevator operators and many others who work quietly and efficiently are members of the 200,000-strong Building Service Employees International Union, which had only 10,000 members and seven locals when it received its A. F. of L. charter thirty years ago.

hearings. They were particularly active during the long struggle—which had some success last year—to improve the Social Security Act.

Collective bargaining in our organization remains essentially a local activity, but the international union has given increased assistance to the locals in this field. The B.S.E.I.U. research department provides locals with essential statistical data, and international representatives frequently assist local bargainers through critical negotiations.

The building service workers have made tremendous progress in the past ten years. The shameful conditions

under which members worked thirty years ago have been abolished. "Real" wages have been increased substantially. In the last few years local unions of the B.S.E.I.U. have also negotiated employer-paid medical care insurance, life insurance and pension plans.

B.S.E.I.U. locals have made progress in other fields, too. Several have purchased their own buildings. Various kinds of member-benefit programs have been undertaken. Most recently, several of the large locals, led by the Flat Janitors in Chicago, have established college scholarship programs for the children of union members.

The Building Service Employees International Union celebrated its thirtieth anniversary not long ago. On that occasion I noted that, while we have come a long way since 1921 and have greatly improved the lot of the building service worker, the job of the B.S.E.I.U. is not complete.

Until we have organized all building service workers who remain outside our ranks, the Building Service Employees International Union will not rest.

The efforts to bring the benefits of trade unionism to those still unorganized are going forward. We are confident that these efforts will succeed.

COMMUNISM— ENEMY OF AMERICAN LABOR

By J. EDGAR HOOVER
Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

THIS man is an enemy of the party. He is irresponsible."

The chairman's eyes flashed as he waved a piece of paper.

"This comrade lacks political awareness. He is a traitor to our cause. I recommend that he be removed as secretary."

A hush fell upon the men and women in the room. This was a Communist Party council meeting. An old, trusted member, who had served the party well, was now under fire. He had made a false step, a step from which there could be no return. His unpardonable sin: He had disobeyed the party line.

The room echoed and reechoed with cries.

"He should be expelled."

"He's not fit to be a party member."

"He's betrayed our cause."

"There can be no excuse."

The cries mounted—like a pack of yapping hounds chasing a rabbit.

Then there was a squeak of a chair, and an old-time member, ever faithful to the party line, arose. He was short, heavy-set, his face engraved with tremendous anger.

"Comrades," he said, "this man has fallen down on the job. He was irresponsible. In the Soviet Union irresponsibles are not voted out of office—they are shot."

Then, without another word, he sat down.

Sudden silence. The Communist anger had reached the tension point. The final result: The accused comrade was removed as secretary.

"They are not voted out of office—they are shot"—these words, springing from the lips of an old Communist, are symbolic of the dread danger of communism today. The Communists detest democracy, free government, the principles of justice, fair play and good will. They strive to create a Communist world—those who stand in the way must be eliminated.

Every patriotic American must stand aware of the terrible menace of communism. To do otherwise is to risk utter annihilation. Communism is tyranny by blueprint, the calculated, systematic and purposive elimination of individuals, nations and even civilizations.

The Communists desire to create



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a society of slavery, where the few rule the many. To accomplish this aim they are employing every available tool—war, death, intrigue, conspiracy, underhanded stealth. The only thing which matters is ultimate Communist victory.

Tyranny has existed before—many times. Men have been lashed by dictators, their families despoiled, their villages destroyed. Horrible injustices have been perpetrated; unimaginable cruelties committed. But, compared to communism, these tyrannies were stumbling and inefficient, static and childlike, often reflecting the whim (Continued on Page 32)



People are our most precious asset. Have we enough people to do the big job we have undertaken?

MANPOWER CRISIS AHEAD

By BORIS SHISHKIN
Economist, American Federation of Labor

WHEN people talk about manpower, they are talking about you. Our manpower is all of us. Too often when manpower is discussed the impression is that it has to do only with industrial labor or with military personnel. Such is not the case. The term manpower, awkward though it is, includes men and women, young people and old people, everyone in the community.

In the development of the defense program one hears much about our military strength, about production of armaments and about defense production. Too little is heard about the need for people. It takes people to man the armed forces, to turn out the defense work and to keep America's production, trade and services going.

On January 17, 1951, President Truman promulgated a "national manpower mobilization policy." This policy is based on three principles: (1) our country expects each individual to make his maximum contribution to the national defense effort; (2) each employer, whether

public or private, will provide the opportunity and the conditions under which the individual can make fullest use of his abilities, and (3) the manpower programs developed by the government will be so designed as to draw forth voluntarily from the individual his best effort.

Until now no critical manpower shortages have developed. In a few occupations labor supply has become extremely scarce. In some areas local labor shortages have appeared. But so far it has been a manageable problem.

You need only a quick look at the Congressional enactments providing for military service and at the projected program of defense contracts to figure out that our defense effort may soon be in serious trouble simply because we won't have enough people to man the defense effort and to meet the defense targets we have set.

Take first the required military strength. Our policy calls for an armed force of 3,500,000. This figure is far below the peak strength of

over 11,000,000 attained for a short time during World War II. But there is an important difference. It is one thing to build up a large wartime army for a short period. It is something else again to provide for a standing army of 3,500,000—and this figure may soon be raised—and to maintain an army at that strength over a number of years. Yet at present this is precisely what we are setting out to do.

Under the procedure established by law, young men between 18½ and 26 are subject to military service for twenty-four months. Individuals possessing critical skills—say a machinist or a farm worker—are subject to an occupational deferment. Veterans are exempt. Until recently married men and men with dependents have also been exempt. The exemption for married men without dependents has just been withdrawn.

It is becoming apparent that in order to maintain an army of 3,500,000 over a period of years the present laws and procedures for military recruitment will not suffice. As a

matter of simple arithmetic, in order to maintain an army at 3,500,000 strength over, say, ten years you would either have to draft all 18-year-olds without any deferment whatsoever or else increase the length of service to three and one-half years instead of two.

If deferment policies are to continue, we would have to raise the age limit for those eligible for service considerably above 26.

About 1,052,000 came of age in 1951—became 18-year-olds. After rejections, less than 800,000 will be available and fit for service. If we were to maintain a two-year rotation and keep the armed forces at 3,500,000, every fit 18-year old would have to be a soldier. None would be available for even the most essential non-military defense work. None would be able to get any apprenticeship, technical or college training for at least two years of his military service.

If the armed strength is to be maintained and civilian requirements met, we have the choice of either drafting older men or keeping the younger men, under 26, in the service on a three and one-half instead of a two-year rotation. Or else we would have to develop a standing professional army of over 2,000,000.

But defense against military attack is a necessary part of a much larger task. Our country is the industrial arsenal of the free world. In fact, America's industrial output represents one-half of the industrial output of the whole world. It would be a tragic mistake to drain the supply of highly productive industrial labor or to disrupt the labor force in the essential industries and services as the price for maintaining the full complement of men under arms.

Our present strategy is not to produce more than the immediate needs of planes, tanks and guns for ourselves and our allies. Instead of stockpiling weapons which may soon become obsolete, we are stockpiling plants—readying capacity to be available for all-out production in the event of an all-out war. This makes triply difficult the task of assuring the supply of labor with required skills to build up and equip the expanded capacity, to turn out the current defense work and to meet the even greater demands of a possible war emergency.

To take care of the current defense

work alone will call for a rapidly increasing number of qualified workers. The bulk of the defense contracts is just beginning to be translated into actual production. Next year it will be in full swing. And labor requirements to turn out this production will exceed the visible labor supply. Defense production alone will be in need of more than 3,000,000 additional workers in the next ten months.

How can these requirements be met? The present prospect is far from encouraging. Unemployment has already been cut from 3,300,000 in June, 1950, to 2,000,000 in June, 1951. In the same period the number working on farms has been cut by a million. The farm labor force is already depleted to a danger point, even with increased mechanization,

gram needs to be rapidly developed to come to grips with the realities facing the nation. It is a difficult but not an impossible task. And it is one that can be achieved with the maximum reliance on voluntary effort and the minimum of compulsion.

The heart of this task is to bring people *with necessary skills* to the job, where and when it needs to be done. Much of it also is to bring the job that needs to be done to the workers where these can be made available and where they have a place to live.

Paramount to the success of such a program is, first, to make the best use of the labor and the facilities we already have. The President's program laid down last January directed that defense production will be scheduled, materials allocated and procurement distributed with full consideration of the availability of manpower. While the Office of Defense Mobilization has done much conferring about the matter, one is yet to find one example where important consideration was given to manpower in defense procurement.

Second, if workers are to be brought to the vital jobs, they must be able to find decent places to live. Failure of Congress to make even the most rudimentary provision for defense housing is a national scandal. Even the timid authorization of 50,000 units is hedged around with requirements to wait for 90 days to make sure that no speculative builder appears on the scene to make a fast buck at the expense of the defense worker.

Third, if women are to be given an opportunity to do their full share in the defense production effort, day nurseries and other facilities for child care should be provided, along with schools and transportation facilities. Area and local programs to this end should be launched without delay.

Fourth, one important source of labor supply—the older workers—should be fully utilized. Americans today live longer and our population is older. Yet, even now, discrimination against older workers is rampant through industry. Barriers to employment after 45 should be removed and greater use made of men and women past the retirement age.

Fifth, and undoubtedly the most important of all, we must develop a



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if the increased farm production goals are to be met.

We have already seen that 18-year-olds will be at a great premium. To make things worse, we are just now paying the price of the great depression of the Thirties. Because of the low birth rate twenty years ago, fewer youths will be turning 18 in the next two years than the last five-year average.

Women? Here there are also serious limitations. Since the outbreak of the Korean war more than 1,500,000 women have already gone to work in non-farm industries alone. With the rise in the birth rate in the last ten years, far more younger women have small children to care for.

A realistic national manpower pro-

greatly expanded program of industrial on-the-job training. Only through such a program can we assure the availability of needed skills. The real crisis ahead will be not so much to find workers available to do the work, but to find the workers *with the skills required* to do the defense job effectively.

Although industrial training is one of the very first requirements of defense, the record in Congress to make the necessary provision for expanded training services and facilities is again one of failure. Funds authorized for the needed apprenticeship training program in 1951 are grossly inadequate. No provision for other forms of training has been made.

This five-point program represents the bare minimum of responsible public action on which depends the success of our larger defense task. Since the prospect of effective action in the near future is far from encouraging, organized labor must take leadership in order to make sure that the coming manpower crisis is averted. This can and must be done without delay.

Labor's initiative in launching an effective manpower program should rest on the tried and tested rule of our democratic society: that voluntary action can be many times more effective than compulsion.

Once the policy objectives are accepted, the facilities of the trade union movement should be fully utilized to implement these policies in every locality. Community planning, housing and industrial training are a local responsibility. Labor can take the lead in developing community services. Unions can take the initiative also in working out with management on-the-job training programs.

Our nation cannot continue to drift into a manpower crisis. Electronics, chemistry and engineering have given us new and powerful weapons of defense. What is more, they have given us new and powerful tools for better living after we have won the peace and made freedom secure. But our technology is already outrunning our skills.

We must make provision not only for more chemists and engineers but for more skilled workers able to translate new technology into fully flowing production. This we are not prepared to do. Shortage of engineers, chemists and physicists is imminent. (*Continued on Page 35*)

Statement of the A. F. of L. on Withdrawal From U.L.P.C.

President William Green on August 28 presented to the United Labor Policy Committee the following statement in behalf of himself and the other American Federation of Labor members of the committee—Secretary-Treasurer George Meany and Vice-Presidents George M. Harrison, William C. Birthright, W. C. Doberty, D. W. Tracy and William L. McFetridge:

The representatives of the American Federation of Labor herewith announce their withdrawal from the United Labor Policy Committee.

This committee was organized last December 14 to deal with an emergency situation, namely, the immediate problems arising out of defense mobilization. It has unquestionably served a good purpose. To a large extent it has accomplished its purpose.

Today, largely as a result of the committee's efforts, labor has won representation in the key defense agencies. It has been accorded a voice at the top level in the determination of defense policies and at lower levels in the administration of those policies.

From now on, basic improvement in defense policies must be sought by labor through legislation by Congress. It was never intended that the United Labor Policy Committee should serve as the joint legislative representative of its component organizations. In fact, that would be impossible.

We emphasize that the United Labor Policy Committee was established on a temporary basis. Its operations never were and never could be regarded as a satisfactory substitute for organic unity of the free American trade union movement.

To the American Federation of Labor there is no substitute for organic unity. Only through a united labor movement, merged into a single organization, can the workers of America attain the power, the status and the consideration which is their due.

In furtherance of that objective, and to assure that the goodwill and fraternity engendered by our associations with the representatives of the Congress of Industrial Organizations on this United Labor Policy Committee are not allowed to lapse, the representatives of the American Federation of Labor hereby propose that the standing committees of both organizations resume at the earliest opportunity their negotiations to bring about labor peace through organic unity.



*British trade unionists at the
T.U.C. conclave in Blackpool*



British Stand With the Free

THE British Trades Union Congress, holding its annual convention at Blackpool, England, pledged that the organized working people of Britain will continue to stand squarely with the liberty-upholding forces of the West. The delegates ruled out any appeasement of Communist Russia. The convention, held this month, also voted to continue the T.U.C.'s support of the Labor government's economic policies.

Two noted A. F. of L. leaders were in attendance at Blackpool as fraternal delegates. They were Charles J. MacGowan, a vice-president of the A. F. of L., and Richard J. Gray, president of the Building and Construction Trades Department.

Mr. MacGowan charged that up to now the Marshall Plan expenditures have done more to strengthen monopoly in Europe than to lift the wages of the working people. He promised that he would raise this issue at the A. F. of L. convention.

Mr. Gray in his address discussed the Taft-Hartley Act and told of its injurious effects on American unions and toilers.

Another important speaker at the T.U.C. meeting was Chancellor of the Exchequer Hugh Gaitskell. Socialism is no magic cure for Britain's economic ills, he emphasized.

*C. J. MacGowan (left) and R. J.
Gray represented A. F. of L.*

Helping Asia's Workers

By RICHARD DEVERALL

Representative in Asia, A. F. of L. Free Trade Union Committee

LAST year a young Indian worker, a member of a trade union in Bombay, visited my office. He asked for a pamphlet on the shop steward system. He received it. He asked for a sample American labor agreement. He received it. He asked for some A. F. of L. material on co-operatives and credit unions. He received plenty. Over a cup of tea we chatted for a short time. Before the visitor left our Bombay hotel room-office he said:

"Perhaps you don't know it, but the work you are doing here in Asia is revolutionary."

"Revolutionary?" I said.

"Yes," he replied. "You see, for many years we have been flooded here in India with Communist propaganda. We get 'The Communist Manifesto' from the Kremlin. We have read 'The State and Revolution' by V. I. Lenin. And last year I finished reading 'The Problems of Leninism' by Joseph Stalin."

"Yes," I commented, hopefully.

"But nowhere in the Communist propaganda did they tell me how to solve the problems in my shop. They didn't tell me how to form a credit union to avoid usury and money-lenders. They didn't tell me how to set up grievance machinery and a shop steward system so that we can solve problems in our shop as fast as they arise. They didn't tell me how to write a contract protecting the workers and promoting class peace between employer and union. No, indeed! What Lenin and Stalin say is: 'Turn out your own government and let the Communists take over and they will give you a better break.'"

I caught the point at once.

"Aha! . . . The propaganda mate-

rial of the American Federation of Labor is 'know-how' material. We don't say throw out your leaders and let the A. F. of L. take over. We say, 'Here is how we solved your problems. We think you can solve your own problems in the same manner.' Isn't that it?"

The worker nodded his head.

"You have said it! You provide democratic know-how. You are telling workers how to help themselves. And believe me, brother, in Asia *that is revolutionary!*"

The man—a railway worker—left and I stood at the window overlooking the inner harbor for some time, pondering what our Indian trade union brother had said. And in my mind's eye I reviewed my own readings of the Communist propaganda—the vitriolic hatred, the tongue lashings, all the chatter about Narodniks, the Mensheviks and the rest of the claptrap dished out by Moscow as "democratic" propaganda.

What use can it be to a worker in India to know what the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks fought about in 1907? Does it really matter to know that Kautsky took such-and-such a position?

And when you think about it, so much of the Communist propaganda handed out in Asia is complete rubbish. If it were not so heavily subsidized by the slave-labor Soviet government, few people would even bother to read it.

I have found throughout Asia that the know-how of democratic trade unionism is eagerly sought. Only a few years ago we were holding a labor education lecture meeting in the city of Osaka in Japan. We had brought along 500 leaflets on the shop steward

system, but about 3,000 rank-and-file Japanese workers were on hand for the lecture and subsequent question-and-answer period. We announced free distribution of the know-how material. You should have seen those workers scrambling to get their copies. It almost caused a minor riot. The hunger for know-how material is deep and Asia-wide.

Two problems follow from this orientation. The first is the problem of the Asian worker. The second is the type of labor information work carried on by our United States Information Service overseas—an agency for which we workers pay taxes each year.

THE TYPICAL Asian worker is not an industrial worker but an agricultural or plantation worker. In India, for example, 85 per cent of the folks live on the land. It is estimated that there are 40,000,000 land and plantation workers and only 4,000,000 industrial and government workers.

In many of the countries the workers are illiterate. Consequently, their leaders are often not workers but doctors, lawyers and sometimes designing politicians who use the "unions" as a source of revenue and political power.

Furthermore, in most of the countries of Asia there is no history of trade unionism. Only yesterday such countries as India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia and the Philippines were under the control of alien, foreign governments. Too often the foreign ruling power was interested more in controlling labor than in helping labor to help itself.

With freedom and independence won throughout most of the countries of Asia—and I include a Japan lib-

erated from militarist control—the major problem today is for workers to receive simple visual material that will help them to help themselves, material about real trade unions, material on labor education, credit unions, cooperatives and the like.

Now, obviously, much of the material prepared by the American Federation of Labor, the Workers Education Bureau and the Free Trade Union Committee is not applicable to the problems of Asian plantation and farm workers. But much of what we turn out in the United States is extremely pertinent in Asia, and in my experience the material sent to Asia by the A. F. of L., the W.E.B. and the F.T.U.C., as well as by our international and national affiliates, has played a really constructive and, if you like, revolutionary role in the transmission of free trade union know-how to our trade union brothers in Asia.

Collective agreements are today becoming a part of industrial and agricultural labor-management relations in many Asian countries. Grievance

machinery is now used in Japan. In India it is under practical consideration by the All-India Railwaymen's Federation. And in many of the countries of Asia rank-and-file workers are now saying:

"It isn't right for outsiders or political parties to control our unions. We must control our own unions by ourselves—just as they do in the United States."

Truly the work which the American Federation of Labor has accomplished in Asia since 1945 stands as a monument to the memory of the great Samuel Gompers, who gave us the eternal mandate to "preach the doctrine—the gospel of labor—whenever any opportunity may be afforded."

As to the problem of the labor information activities of the U.S. Information Service in Asia, I am reminded of the brilliant speech made not long ago by Secretary-Treasurer George Meany in the city of Chicago. In that speech Brother Meany noted that "in its fight against communism, in its positive fight for democracy, the American Federation of Labor

conducts its activities as an independent force."

"We are totally independent of any government control or influence," he pointed out. "At times we may agree and cooperate. At times we may disagree. But at no time can we serve or act as an agency or dependent of our government. * * * We are *labor*. We fight as *labor*. We fight for *labor*. We fight against the termites in the house of *labor*."

During the past year I have had an opportunity to observe the activities of some of our American labor attachés in Asia as well as the work of the U.S. Information Service in several Asian countries.

While I certainly admire the way in which many of the attachés and employes of the U.S.I.S. work, I must also say that some of their material is so busy denouncing Soviet communism that it is almost entirely negative. As Brother Meany has said, we fight not only against communism—we fight positively for *democracy*.

I recall one case where the U.S.I.S. had received (*Continued on Page 35*)

Men on the job in India. Most of the workers of Asia are not employed in industry but on the land



EDITORIALS

by William Green

Japanese Treaty

JAPAN is the military outpost of Asia as well as the most progressive industrial country in Asia. In the recent past, unfortunately, Japanese policies came under the domination of forces whose principles did not lead to peace. The Pacific War, fought brilliantly and won by the United States, ended the domination of those forces in Japan. Reconstruction along more equitable and democratic lines followed. Now the Japanese nation, with its eager and diligent search for information and its great industry, is ready to rebuild its national economy and resume trading.

The United States realized that the best policy for postwar Japan was to make available constructive opportunity. The global menace of Soviet aggression served to hasten action, and a peace treaty was drafted and modified after consultation with allied nations.

The treaty is thought to represent the maximum of agreement possible. The document is free from punitive provisions, such as reparations, but embodies the wartime agreement to give strategic islands to the U.S.S.R., which can easily menace Japan. More difficult and more important was the decision as to the legitimate Nationalist government and the Red Peiping government. The U.S.S.R., after protests against the treaty, decided at the eleventh hour to be represented at the San Francisco conference, obviously mindful of its own plans for aggression and the Korean situation. Russia was represented by its veto specialist, Gromyko, and the contribution of the Soviet was not constructive.

It is important that the treaty should become effective as soon as possible in order that Japan may regain self-government and self-dependence. For the protection of Japan, the U.S. must continue military protection for the present, until Japan assumes responsibility as a contributing member of nations pledged to world peace.

Red Tricks in Korea

TRUCE talks in Korea have at every stage of development demonstrated why Lenin and Stalin have both declared that communism and free enterprise cannot co-exist in the same world. Free enterprise, like demo-

cratic government, is founded on contracts with the expectation that the contract will be honored in good faith, whereas the Communist philosophy subordinates even truth to the party line, and a truce agreement serves primarily to strengthen lines for renewed attacks. The truce offer itself was an appendage to a bitter and unfounded series of charges impugning the motives of the United States.

To initiate negotiations, the United Nations suggested a neutral location for deliberations. The Communists rejected that proposal and proposed a place held by their troops. The U.N. accepted the Communist location proposal with the stipulation that there be joint policing and freedom of access.

The first meeting of the representatives occurred despite conditions in violation of the agreement. Nor was there compliance with contract until the United Nations representatives suspended sessions pending compliance. When talks were resumed, Communist leaders refused to negotiate, taking refuge in more than two hours of silence.

Then non-official talks were suggested and instituted, to be halted shortly by Communist charges that the United Nations forces had violated the five-mile neutral zone and that the United Nations air force had attacked vehicles serving the Chinese and North Korean negotiators. In a second clash, a Chinese leader and a soldier were killed. Vice-Admiral Joy appointed investigators, who reported there was nothing to substantiate the charges against the United Nations forces but that the presence of partisan irregulars—some in civilian clothing—was known to have been worrying even the Communists, who asked permission to keep arms in their homes.

Vice-Admiral Joy told the Communist that evidence indicated these "irregulars" had made the attacks complained of, that the charges against United Nations troops were groundless and fabricated, and that the Communists had been told they must announce in advance any troop movement to have immunity, which they had failed to do. Vice-Admiral Joy also reminded the Communists that they had assumed sole responsibility for policing the neutral zone, even though they

had been told policing should be under joint direction. The Communists have permitted individuals in the conference zone only at their invitation.

Our troops in Korea are there to maintain the principle that a peaceful, self-governed nation has the right to freedom from aggression and to be helped to maintain that right by an organization set up "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of all nations large and small." That which gives value and purpose to living is involved, and this is of infinitely greater importance than security or preservation of peace. Our moral standards require us to defend and conserve the values of life and civilization. The Communists categorically denied all facts but asked for reconsideration and renewal of negotiations. The United Nations representatives consistently have stood their ground.

Truce negotiations are a well-established practice of the Chinese Communists and have been repeatedly used by them in the past to gain advantages. It is therefore unsafe to regard them as bonafide proposals.

1882 and 1951

ALTHOUGH there have been many changes since Labor Day was first observed, there has been no change in the day's purpose—honor to the soul of labor as identical with the soul of humanity.

The city of New York and the nation were a bit aghast in 1882 when thousands of workers who worked for wages laid aside their tools and materials, left factories and stores, to honor those who turn production orders into things and services needed by society. The action of these workers focused attention on inherent rights and human dignity, attributes of a free man, expressing the creative desire of the human spirit.

The masses of workers, erect and courageous, marching under the Stars and Stripes were truly Americans who valued the civil rights assured them by our federal Constitution and the opportunity to benefit by the freedom these rights accorded. Wage-earners who individually had little influence would have attracted little attention, but when massed together for a street parade, they made onlookers pause.

What manner of men and organization were these who temporarily displaced street traffic? The public and various onlookers were helped to realize that workers were citizens, just like themselves, who belonged to labor unions which served their interests.

Simple and clear as these facts appeared to those watching the first Labor Day parade, they were ignored

by many employers. In the 1880s, 1890s and three decades of the Twentieth Century, the lives of trade union workers were a constant struggle to utilize their rights and to establish the right to contractual fixing of terms and conditions of work.

More equitable opportunity to promote their welfare came when the Norris-LaGuardia Act of 1932 prohibited federal courts from issuing injunctions in labor disputes and declared collective bargaining to be public policy. Subsequent legislation has spelled out public responsibility under this policy, with a backward step in the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947, whose purpose is to regulate and restrict collective bargaining.

Despite all efforts to retard trade unionism, wage-earners organized in the A. F. of L. have increased from less than 100,000 in 1882 to over 8,000,000 members at the present time. Through these unions, wage-earners have achieved substantial progress and have added materially to national wealth and higher standards of living.

Industrial productivity has increased in twenty-four out of twenty-six industries recently studied and reported by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The total number employed in July was 62,526,000, an increase of 1,312,000 over a year ago; the number in non-agricultural industries was 54,618,000, an increase of 850,000 over 1950. Gross national production increased to a rate of \$326 billion. Part of this increase was the result of added facilities and better tools and part was the result of greater skill in production.

National defense is now absorbing 10 per cent of output. National income rose from a rate of \$244 billion in the first quarter of 1951 to a rate of \$250 billion in the second quarter.

Unemployment in July, 1951, at 1,900,000 showed signs of another decline. Workers have generally increased their earnings in money, but taxes and inflation have prevented increases in standards of living. Wage and small-salaried workers received 64 per cent of national income. With future reduction in civilian production, purchasing demands will exceed supply by \$20 billion. Unless these \$20 billion go into some form of investment saving—such as homes, bonds, stocks, etc.—they can be used to bid prices up.

We urge workers to plan systematic saving for investment, insurance and future spending when prices are lower. Sacrifice now will bring substantial benefits now and in the future increased purchasing power of the dollar and in values of real estate, insurance and benefit plans.

Italy's Free Workers

By GIULIO PASTORE

General Secretary, Italian Confederation of Trade Unions

IMMEDIATELY after the last war, which left the world dripping blood and whose consequences have put all nations in a state of troubled hardship that makes difficult the safeguarding of a relative peace, it would hardly have been foreseeable that within a few years the workers of Italy would be able to depend, for the protection of their rights, upon a trade union organization operating efficiently and independently of any external influence or domination.

To explain fully how such an organization was established would mean writing the history of the new Italian labor movement. It would mean writing about Italian labor politics. And not to be forgotten would be the economic needs of the Italian working class and the remedies for those needs which do not upset the social, economic and financial order of a country which still must heal its wounds while it courageously tackles the problem of its participation in the great family of democratic nations.

In November of 1949 the first national convention clearly established, in the preamble of its statute, which was then approved, the legal and social character of the Free Italian Confederation of Workers.

This Confederation, "being of the opinion that freedom of thought, freedom of speech and freedom of association shall become actual conditions of life for the workers and of their relationship with public and private enterprises and with the government," proclaimed the rights of individuals to—

- (1) Social justice as the only basis for peaceful living conditions.
- (2) Work and freedom in work.
- (3) Security of employment and personal safety of the workers.
- (4) Establishment of democratic labor organizations which protect the workers and the workers' interests within their fields of activity.

Italian workers had suffered till then a very hard and frustrating experience while co-existing with Communists and pro-Communists within the unified Italian General Confederation of Labor (C.G.I.L.).

As a result of an apparently spontaneous but very definitely dangerous movement, the C.G.I.L. had been established and officially recognized in the pact of Rome of July 9, 1944. This pact had also been accepted by very large Catholic labor groups in a spirit of loyalty corresponding to that feeling of hope and confidence which seemed to be inspired by the unity itself and that, in large part, was justified.

It didn't take long before it became evident that the pact of Rome was only a rope tied around the necks of truly democratic workers. Then the fight began. Sometimes conducted in hiding, sometimes in the open, that fight revealed from day to day the sharp differences between democratic workers and those who are not democratic. The so-called unity proved fictitious. Confidence and hopes were destroyed by hate and violence.

The Communist group, determined

to monopolize all positions, launched an assault. The goal of the Communists was to get all the seats on the union's coach.

The Christian group within the C.G.I.L. and part of the Social Democrats openly denounced a situation which had become untenable. This brought about a series of persecutions on the part of the Reds. There is no space here for listing all the vexations, violence and humiliations which were suffered by the non-Communist workers in the factories, in the fields and in the offices. It has all been reported in a white book. This book is one of the heaviest and most thoroughly authenticated indictments of the methods of Bolshevik totalitarianism to injure working people ever presented. The Communist effort to divide the Italian working class was felt and rejected by the workers. The Communist group began to exclude democratic labor leaders in various regions of Italy. The Christian groups were forced to leave the Chambers of Labor. Later they established the Free Provincial Unions.

In September of 1948 the National Congress of Christian Associations of



The author delivering an address. He fights dictators of all kinds

Italian Workers (A.C.L.I.), taking into account the situation which had arisen, approved the participation of the workers it represented in a labor organization completely free from political or religious interference and not subject to any directives of any kind from the government or political parties.

It was becoming more and more evident that "unity," for whose sake the democratic workers of Italy had first willingly accepted so many vexations and which some of them were still afraid to break, was being used by the Communists as an easy excuse to place the non-Communist Italian workers under the yoke of the Kremlin, making them serve the needs of Soviet imperialism. The bosses of the totalitarian unions, in their plan to damage the country and democracy, conducted purges. Large numbers of people were expelled. Then there was a Communist revolutionary experiment which boomeranged. The democratic workers all over Italy now realized their strength. They were ready now to organize a democratic trade union federation on a national scale.

In 1949 the Social Democratic and Republican groups left the C.G.I.L. and formed the Italian Federation of Labor (F.I.L.). Later, in May of 1950, this organization, together with some other autonomous unions, merged with the Free Unions. The present C.I.S.L. was born from this unionization.

From July of 1948 until May of 1950, life for the free workers of Italy was not less difficult than before. Now they were forced to fight on two fronts. They were accused, from time to time and with evident contradictions, of being demagogues or traitors, agitators or strikebreakers. They also had to stand physical and moral violence and incredible harassment.

We feel deeply moved when we recall the free workers who became victims of the brutal Communist fury in the course of a few months—five dead and 353 wounded. Destroyed by Communist violence were the premises of twenty-three democratic unions.

The sacrifices of the slain and wounded have conferred upon the newly born Italian free trade union movement a moral strength which is bringing its results among innumerable difficulties. First among these



George Meany arrives to study Italian labor situation at first hand

difficulties is the lack of confidence in trade unionism which has estranged millions of workers from any labor movement. This is the result of the misdeeds and vexations perpetrated by the Communist labor movement. This is the great "achievement" of the Communists in Italy—that they led millions of workers to mistrust the actions of all trade unions.

The C.I.S.L. is solving this problem, slowly but surely. Confidence is being built up again in all those who had lost it. This is being done through practical examples of honesty and loyalty in the handling of the problems of working people. Restoration of confidence is also being promoted through the scrupulous observance of democratic procedures and by spreading trade union fraternity wherever the free unionists are called to carry on their activities.

The experience of recent years has revealed that large groups of Italian workers have been lacking in accurate information on the nature and scope of a trade union. Sometimes the fact that at some time it had not been possible to satisfy an individual request sufficed to create resentment that a miracle had not been performed, as if the making of miracles were the privilege of labor unions. To correct such erroneous notions, our Confederation has done everything possible, within the limits imposed by its financial means, to diffuse among the working people of Italy exact knowledge of a trade union's

nature, its aims and its methods. For this purpose the efficient work carried out directly among workers by trained specialists has proved extremely useful. Technical courses have been given regularly and rather good results have been obtained. Two months ago classes were started at the Trade Union School in Florence. This school may be considered—both on account of the experience of its teachers and for the broad programs of study—the first Italian university for trade union specialists. In the important field of the labor press, after heavy sacrifices, good results have now been achieved. Labor publications now available to the free workers of Italy provide the means of securing a complete and up-to-date knowledge of all labor questions. Because of the free labor press the toiler is now in a position to broaden his experience of social and economic problems.

At this point it is necessary to report the present strength of our free trade union movement. There are, in all, about 1,500,000 members, ninety-four provincial unions and forty-three categories. The membership figure is for the first months of 1951. New applications for membership are coming in constantly, and a substantial increase above the 1,500,000 figure will surely have taken place before the end of the year.

During the recent second world congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions more

than 100,000 workers, on the large square of the Milan Cathedral, gave to the representatives of the I.C.F.T.U. an imposing and unimpeachable proof of their organizational efficiency, of their trade union education and democratic enthusiasm. Many thousands of other citizens, filling the great square to the limit of its capacity, attested the sympathy of the population of Milan and their interest in the development and progress of free and democratic trade unionism.

The population of Lombardy, which is connected with the major industrial activities of Italy, is especially aware of the constructive efforts of our Confederation on behalf of the working people without sacrificing or jeopardizing the general interests of the country.

The workers of Milan have not forgotten the strong action taken by the General Council of the C.I.S.L. last January. On that occasion the C.I.S.L. intervened and gave candid expression to its independent and objective criticism of the government's social politics. The C.I.S.L. also offered a concrete contribution for a more realistic economic approach, taking into account not only the immediate requirements but also the permanent interests of the workers. Thus was avoided any sliding toward dangerous solutions which could have been prejudicial to a safe social progress.

In the not too distant future all impartial observers of Italian events will have to recognize that the policy followed by the C.I.S.L. was characterized by complete independence from the government as well as from any interference on the part of political parties.

This independence, which is being exercised without any demagogic or stupid prejudice, meets with the approval of the members of the organization as well as of that large group of Italian workers who throw in the weight of their strength only at the critical moments of major difficulties and most vital decisions.

Strikes and their outcome afford a significant demonstration of the influence and effectiveness of the C.I.S.L. Strikes in Italy regularly prove to be failures when they are not supported by the free workers, but, on the other hand, they always are successful when they are supported by our organization. A strike

supported by the C.I.S.L. is recognized as a legitimate economic strike. However, strikes which are of a different character are not backed by democratic trade unionists, and such stoppages invariably fail.

The recent world congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions found the free Italian workers more confident than ever before of the strength of democratic trade unionism and more determined to increase its strength further so that their rights may be completely recognized after their diligent fulfillment of their duties as workers and as citizens. The free working people of Italy know that the present stage of progress merely represents a moment in their democratic action. They are grateful to their friends, the workers

of America, for their generosity, which has helped the non-Communist, democratic working people of Italy in their hard march.

While the union of all free men against the dangers of totalitarianism of any stripe becomes urgent, the wishes of the Italian workers to their American brothers shall represent a pledge of unshakable friendship. It shall also warrant that higher justice which the workers of the Italian republic are patiently waiting for, not with the feeling of a defeated people imploring mercy from the victors but as citizens of a free country who have something to protect with equal rights together with other freedom-loving and democratic countries—should the time come when the highest good of all will be in danger.

WHAT IS BROTHERHOOD?

By PETER E. TERZICK
Editor, The Carpenter

What is brotherhood? It is everything or nothing. It is the catalyst that separates a human being from the beast of the jungle. It is the leavening of love and the scaffolding upon which society rests. It is the glowing light which has beckoned mankind along the tortuous path of progress from the law of the fang to the Bill of Rights. It is the cornerstone of democracy and the fountainhead of human dignity. It is the strength of the past and the hope of the future.

What is brotherhood? It is the biggest thing in the world and at the same time the smallest. It is thousand union men walking picket line for weeks or months to redress an injustice done to a single member. But also it is a housewife baking a cake for an ailing neighbor. It is battered and beaten GIs with bone-weary arms and frozen feet carrying wounded comrades out of the frigid wastes of Korea. But also it is a vigorous young carpenter giving a lift to tired old-timer working by his side. It is a hundred and fifty million people placing their homes, their savings and even their lives at the disposal of the nation to protect the principles of liberty and equality. But no less it is Bill Smith mowing the lawn of the old couple up the street. It is a dozen or a hundred or a thousand people working together to maintain a church or a lodge or a union. It is the fifty-cent contribution or the hour of committee work given by the least of them.

What is brotherhood? It is the wisdom of Lincoln and the warmth of Gandhi. It is the humility of Jesus, the humbleness of Mohammed and the humanitarianism of Confucius. It is Catholic and Protestant and Jew living together in peacefulness and harmony. It is Italian and Dane and Bulgarian and Pole working side by side on the job and sitting shoulder to shoulder in the union hall searching for ways to advance the common good. It is the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount. It is

the Bible, the Talmud and the Koran. It is the essence of all wisdom of all ages distilled into a single word. But equally it is the understanding of neighbors and friends who sorrow at your misfortune and rejoice at your triumphs. You cannot see brotherhood; neither can you hear it or taste it. But you can feel it a hundred times a day. It is the pat on the back when things look gloomy. It is the smile of encouragement when the way seems hard. It is the helping hand when the burden becomes unbearable.

What is brotherhood? It is pioneer Americans of faiths and creeds and colors banding together to raise a barn for a neighbor. It is men in leather breeches and homespun shirts taking wagons apart and carrying them over the mountains, piece by piece, to get wagon trains into California and Oregon. It is working men risking their jobs, their homes and their futures to build unions capable of eliminating exploitation and poverty and industrial slavery. It is men and women working for a common cause that is bigger than any individual.

What is brotherhood? It is the hope of mankind for immortality. Man comes into the world from whence he knows not. He struggles a while and departs again into whence he knows not. But like the tiny crustaceans which create the magnificent coral reefs, he makes a tiny contribution to the universal plan. The coral comes into the world, lives a while and then dies, to add its tiny skeleton to the skeletons of millions of generations which went before. In the end, a beautiful coral island rises out of the sea. Like the coral, man comes into the world to live a while and eventually pass on. Like the coral, he makes his contribution to the universal plan. Brotherhood is the mortar that holds together the contributions of all men in all ages.

What is brotherhood? It is not life. It is more than that. It is that which gives meaning to life and makes it worth living. That is brotherhood.



Labor in Tennessee

By STANTON E. SMITH, FRANK B. MILES and CHARLES M. HOUK

*President, First Vice-President and Secretary-Treasurer,
Respectively, Tennessee Federation of Labor*

TENNESSEE is a long state—more than 500 miles from Bristol in the Northeast corner to Memphis in the Southwest. By a tradition given recognition in the state constitution, Tennessee is divided into three parts—*East Tennessee*, consisting of the Great Smoky Mountains, a generous slice of the Great Appalachian Valley and the storied Cumberland Plateau; *Middle Tennessee*, the home of Andrew Jackson and the Tennessee blue grass on which graze the famous Tennessee Walking Horses; and *West Tennessee*, dominated by the Mississippi, ruled by King Cotton, and the bailiwick of Ed Crump.

All this land is tied together by the Tennessee River, which twice crosses the state, once going south and once going north, before emptying the excessive rains of the Smoky Mountains into the Ohio near its junction with the Mississippi.

Tennessee is famous for Ed Crump and TVA. Crump was reduced to proper size by the 1948 election of Estes Kefauver to the United States Senate in the face of Crump's best efforts to defeat him; TVA continues to demonstrate the basic soundness of the integrated development of a river basin. Organized labor in Tennessee is proud of the part it has played in both of these achievements.

Rivaling TVA in social importance is the atomic development at Oak Ridge. As it had built TVA, organized labor built Oak Ridge, creating

a city and enormous productive facilities out of raw countryside in a matter of months. We still hope that atomic fission may result in great good for man—not his destruction.

Organized labor in the Volunteer State, like organized labor everywhere, is feeling the effects of the Twentieth Century jitters—jitters produced by two world wars and the danger of a third; jitters produced by McCarthyism and the internal political struggle; jitters manifesting themselves in the form of an anti-union, compulsory-open-shop law in Tennessee and a Taft-Hartley Act nationwide.

How is labor in Tennessee meeting these problems?

What are the prospects?

Is political activity overshadowing trade union organization?

In what direction are we going?

Here is our estimate of the situation in Tennessee.

THE Tennessee Federation of Labor was organized September 6, 1896. Most of the early records are lost. Few of the pioneers are left. So our knowledge of the formative years of the T. F. of L. is very limited. From the beginning, however, labor organization tended to center around the four largest cities of the state—Knoxville and Chattanooga in East Tennessee, Nashville in Middle Tennessee and Memphis in West Tennessee.

There was, in addition, consider-

able organization among the coal miners throughout the mountain areas of the Eastern section.

Today, as then, the bulk of union membership in Tennessee is found in the Eastern portion of the state. This is due primarily to the fact that industrial development has tended to concentrate in this section.

City central bodies were organized around the turn of the century in the four major cities and in Jackson, a railroad center in West Tennessee.

It can thus be seen that labor organization under the banner of the American Federation of Labor is not altogether as new in this mid-Southern state as some of our brothers in the industrial North and East may think. In fact, organization among skilled craftsmen in Tennessee goes back before the Civil War. The Knights of Labor are a part of labor history in the Volunteer State.

True, organization of the unskilled and semi-skilled factory workers was scattered and weak. But was that not true in all sections of the United States before 1935?

True, industrialization of the South has come later and consequently labor organization, in the more general sense, has also tended to come later.

We, too, had part in the great organizational drives of the era of Section 7(a) of the N.I.R.A. and the Wagner Act. Southern workers tended to respond more slowly than workers in other sections: the deep-

rooted agricultural tradition and the false social divisions produced by racial barriers served to blind many Southern workers to their own self-interest.

We are glad to report that gains are being made in the organization of industrial workers in Tennessee. The major exception to this is textiles. This is an important exception, but an exception which we hope to erase in time. The skilled trades are relatively well organized. Today we have ten central labor unions, with Johnson City, Kingsport, Erwin, Oak Ridge and Bristol having been added to the roll in about that order.

The American Federation of Labor is the dominant labor organization in the state in terms of number of members. The C.I.O. also has organizations in all major centers. The United Mine Workers have their jurisdiction well organized as have the Railroad Brotherhoods.

About eight years ago the legislative representatives of all labor groups in the state except the Tennessee Federation of Labor formed a Joint Labor Legislative Council for the purpose of coordinating their efforts in the Legislature. The Tennessee Federation of Labor entered this Joint Council in 1947 and has continued to participate since that time.

We have found this arrangement to be highly acceptable. It has resulted in a great increase in the effectiveness of our legislative work. The 1949 session of the General Assembly saw the passage of more favorable legislation for the working people of Tennessee than in the combined total of the preceding dozen years, even though we failed in our No. 1 objective, the repeal of the Open Shop Law.

The secret of the harmonious relationship which has existed in the Joint Council lies in the following factors:

(1) There are no officers or formal organization; the chairmanship is rotated from day to day. (2) Unanimous agreement of the legislative representatives of all organizations is required for action by the Council. (3) The Council limits itself to legislative matters; organizational problems are kept strictly out.

The Joint Labor Legislative Council maintains permanent headquarters in Nashville, financed jointly by all participating organizations. A weekly legislative bulletin is issued while



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the Legislature is in session and a joint report is issued at the end of each session.

The action of the Legislature in 1947 in passing an anti-union, compulsory-open-shop law which outlaws all forms of union security in Tennessee was the bucket of cold water in the face which brought the T. F. of L. to the sharp realization that a united front was essential to the preservation of our movement. This realization was reinforced later that year by passage of the Taft-Hartley Act.

The awakening of the rank-and-file membership began, when the 1947 law was under consideration, with an orderly, dignified, mass protest to the



MR. HOUK

Legislature by more than 4,000 union representatives hastily assembled from all sections of the state to attend a public hearing before a joint committee of the House and Senate. The fact that not a single proponent of the anti-labor bill raised his voice to defend it did not deter the Legislature from passing it by overwhelming votes of both houses.

Labor had the support of most of the Senators and Representatives from the industrial areas. But Tennessee, in common with most other states, has a Legislature in which members from the rural areas predominate out of all proportion to the number of people they represent.

The story in Congress that same year was much the same with respect to the Tennessee delegation. Both of Tennessee's Democratic Senators—McKellar and Stewart—voted for Taft-Hartley and against labor. Eight of the Tennessee Congressmen voted wrong. One of the two Republican Representatives, Dayton Phillips, and one of the eight Democratic Representatives, Estes Kefauver, voted against Taft-Hartley and for labor. Total score: 10 to 2 against labor.

THE historic elections of 1948 produced some interesting results. Estes Kefauver defeated Tom Stewart for the Senate in a torrid, three-cornered race which saw the first defeat of Ed Crump in many years of dominance over Tennessee politics.

Governor McCord (supported by Crump), who had refused labor's plea to veto the vicious state law, went down to defeat at the hands of Gordon Browning.

Dayton Phillips in America's most rock-ribbed Republican—yes, Republican!—district won a resounding victory over a Carroll Reece-supported candidate.

Pat Sutton defeated Wirt Courtney in the Seventh District.

All of these victors had labor's effective support—organized, quiet, concentrated on a campaign to get out the labor vote.

When the test on Taft-Hartley came in the Eighty-first Congress, the 10 to 2 score *against* labor turned to a score of 9 to 3 *for* labor. Both Senators—Kefauver and McKellar—voted right. Seven of ten Congressmen voted right.

The general picture in the 1949 General Assembly of Tennessee fol-

lowed the national pattern—great gains by labor falling just short of victory.

In general, we held our ground politically in the 1950 elections. The State Federation, acting through its political arm, the Tennessee League for Political Education, carried our case to the candidates in the rural sections. Interestingly enough, we found that the so-called anti-labor sentiment of the rural people was largely a figment of the imagination—a hallucination produced by the clever arts of the propagandists.

We found something else in the rural areas. We found a significant number of liberal, pro-labor candidates for the Legislature who were able to win elections. As a result, labor's banner in the 1951 Legislature was carried in large measure by Senators and Representatives from rural areas.

Had the labor movement in the industrial centers held its own, the gain in support in the rural areas would have resulted in repeal of the unfair state anti-union law.

This is the message the Tennessee Federation of Labor is carrying to its affiliates throughout the state as we prepare for the elections of 1952: the local central bodies must carry the ball in the cities, the State Federation must do the job in the rural areas.

IN ORDER to streamline our State Federation and make it a more effective instrument for carrying out both the organizational and political policies of the labor movement, we have undertaken considerable reorganization of the machinery of the T. F. of L. in the past four years. As always, resistance to change is great. But the following major reforms have been accomplished:

(1) We have for the first time a full time secretary-treasurer on the job at permanent headquarters in Nashville.

(2) We have removed the maximum of \$14 which the constitution provided on the dues from any one local union so that all organizations now pay dues at the rate of five cents per member on all members.

(3) We have eliminated the antiquated representation system under which each affiliated local had one delegate and have replaced it by a sliding scale of representation based on membership.



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(4) We have created a third general office in the form of a first vice-president, elected at large along with the president and secretary-treasurer. The Executive Council consists of these three general officers and a vice-president from each central labor union in the state.

(5) We have eliminated the election of the legislative representative by the conventions and placed the selection of the person to discharge these duties in the hands of the Executive Council, which has chosen the secretary-treasurer to be the legislative representative. This is both more economical and more efficient than the old system.

One of the activities which have been distinctive of the Tennessee Federation of Labor for the past seven years has been the cooperative organizing program which has been carried on jointly by the T. F. of L. and the

city central bodies. Since 1944 the State Federation has paid half the salary and expenses of an organizer for those central bodies which were willing to pay the other half. Under this program four organizers are now employed, one in each of the four largest cities.

These organizers operate at minimum expense since the major portion of their work is done in their home cities. They are able to service federal labor unions, assist small and struggling locals, help in the organization of new locals and, in general, raise the level of trade union activity in their respective communities. At the same time they relieve the American Federation of Labor of the expense of sending in organizers from its staff in many situations.

In this way we feel that we are demonstrating the desire of labor in Tennessee to contribute its full share to the building of America's great labor movement.

Scan the roster of the officers of international unions, international representatives and organizers and you will find a respectable number of graduates of the Tennessee Federation of Labor and its constituent unions. Certainly one of our most illustrious sons—one of whom we are very proud—is Brother William C. Birthright, for nearly two decades the secretary-treasurer of the Tennessee Federation of Labor. He is now sixth vice-president of the American Federation of Labor and president of the Journey-men Barbers, Hairdressers and Cosmetologists International Union.

Much of what the Tennessee Federation of Labor is today we owe to him and his associates, who laid the foundation on which we today are trying to build a greater movement.

Louis Stark, Pioneer Labor Reporter, Honored

Louis Stark, for many years the renowned Washington correspondent of the New York Times specializing in labor news and one of the nation's pioneer labor reporters, has been transferred to New York. On the eve of his departure, the highly respected newspaperman was the guest of honor at a dinner in the National Press Club. President Truman and the leaders of organized labor sent telegrams praising Mr. Stark's ability and integrity and wishing him well in his new assignment as an editorial writer.





By EDDY ORCUTT and WELLS TOFT

IT IS a four-block stroll in San Diego from the historic past to the industrial present—from the palm tree planted by Father Serra in July, 1769, to the steel-meshed gates of the aircraft plant that employed 45,000 union workers at its wartime peak in 1945. Labor history in San Diego, the birthplace of California, involves contrasts almost as great—in a far shorter span of time.

Today's defense boom has brought the city's population near to the 400,000 mark, harried it with a 20,000-unit housing shortage, laid urgent obligations on the 30,000 members of local unions affiliated with the Central Labor Council. It was a boom sixty-five years ago, a century after the planting of Padre Serra's palm, that gave birth to the San Diego labor movement.

The boom of 1886-88 followed entry of the Santa Fe Railroad to this remote southwest corner of the nation. New population crowded the trains and ships, real estate speculation hit hectic heights, new building flourished—\$2,000,000 worth of new construction in 1886 as against \$7,000,000 in recorded sales. Skilled craftsmen brought with them the burgeoning ideal of unionism, demanding wages to pace the boom-time spirals in living costs.

In 1887 a tent house on a downtown lot rented for \$3 a day—and in that year carpenters formed the nucleus of a union, won a ten-hour day and a scale of 20 cents an hour. Bakers, working a 14-hour day, five hours extra on Fridays, at a journeyman scale of \$45 a month, tried to establish an organization.

Four daily newspapers flourished in 1887 (today there is only one), with several weeklies, employing a total of fourteen printers. The printers formed a local of the Typographical Union and immediately encountered an employer lockout.

The Cigarmakers Union was dominant, though it no longer exists in San Diego, and while Sam Gompers was on the bricks in New York, it fought the employment of Chinese coolies in San Diego to wrap cigars.

Another early local union, the Sailors, policed the picturesque waterfront. The city's first effective boycott pitted the Sailors against a notorious crimp—a character from whose lodging house at the foot of H Street seamen were systematically shanghaied.

Defeat for unionism was pretty much the rule in those early days of labor organization in San Diego.

Bakeries fired all married men, cut the scale to \$7 a week, hired floaters off the streets, destroyed the Bakers Union for a time. Locking out the union card, the newspapers brought in scab printers from Los Angeles. An employers' blacklist drove the Carpenters underground—though there were already enough men in related crafts to cause many a non-union job to be delayed mysteriously until a light dawned on the builder.

In San Diego as elsewhere, in those early days, union membership endangered a man's job, and he was wise to hide his card in the heel of his shoe.

In August, 1889, a non-union printer disappeared, leaving his hat and cane (that's right, *cane*) on a waterfront wharf. The San Diego Sun, since defunct, launched an anti-

union campaign, hinting foul play. A printers' committee then traced the scab to San Jose, found that he had excellent personal reasons for skipping town—but it was nearly five months before the newspaper acknowledged the facts and printed a retraction. For trade unionism in San Diego those "Gay Nineties" were none too gay.

A milestone was reached in October, 1891, when the union printers, sailors, cigarmakers and longshoremen adopted the gospel according to Sam Gompers and set up a Central Council. Blacksmiths, cooks and waiters organized and joined by 1893, and the Council gained in influence and "respectability." Then, on Labor Day of 1894, San Diego unionists put on their first parade. Items from a yellowed ledger sheet best describe it:

"City Guard Band, 18 pieces, \$36; C. S. Jackson, transparency, 90 cents; O. Rickwardt, 200 torches at 6 cents, \$12." And so on.

The total cost was \$116.45—and on September 20, 1894, the Central Council's ledger showed a net balance of exactly five cents!

From that 1894 milestone under the glow of six-cent torches it was a far cry to the Labor Day Jubilee staged in the city in 1949.

On Labor Day, 1949, President William Green was civic guest of honor, where unionism in the Nineties had been harried and suspected. The Mayor, the Congressman from this district and the Governor of the state were his hosts on the speakers' platform, and 40,000 unionists and their families heard an address that was carried by radio all over the nation.

That evening, instead of 200 six-cent torches, a battery of \$20,000 generators furnished lights for a water-borne parade of twenty-two decorated floats over a six-mile course on Mission Bay. By Associated Press estimate, 150,000 watched that Fiesta Bahia procession, the finale of a three-day observance.

And where the parade of 1894 had cost \$116.45, the Central Labor Council and its affiliates expended nearly \$55,000 on the jubilee of 1949.

"Unique in all the record of Labor Day celebrations," President Green said of labor's floating pageantry that night.

Pageantry may prove nothing, but the jubilee did provide a symbol of labor's long story of achievement in San Diego. The pageant climaxed a fiesta in which the whole city had taken part. State and federal officials cooperated. So did the Army, Navy and Marine Corps. The floats, designed and built by local unions in competition for \$1500 in prizes, were mounted on LCVPs—landing barges—on loan from the Navy and operated by Navy personnel.

While those 150,000 spectators cheered, the organized labor movement of San Diego that night dramatized its advance from the sullen underground of the early boom town into the spotlighted acclaim of the booming modern city.

This month the Central Council launches on its fiftieth year of affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. It was on September 27, 1902, that the poverty-ridden delegates of that time raised the \$15 fee, and the modern Council still cherishes the original charter, signed by Samuel Gompers.

On this anniversary year, fittingly, San Diego has played host to the State Federation of Labor convention and its 2,200 delegates.

From the day of its affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, the San Diego movement marched more openly, and its later influence began to be foreshadowed by the way the Council's delegates tackled the town's early problems.

Union cards and buttons began to be displayed openly, and the wives of union men carried printed lists of unfair firms when they visited the stores. Non-union bars, restaurants and hotels were notified to expect no union patronage. Council committees in-

terviewed candidates for public office.

Delegates in October, 1902, petitioned the Mayor to see that street lights were properly trimmed and lighted and kept burning to full capacity. The Council crusaded to compel the streetcar company to remove unused rails which were a traffic hazard for steel-rimmed wheels and iron-shod hooves.

In 1903 the Council was one of the first in the nation to memorialize Congress on behalf of an eight-hour law. In that year, too, the job of Council secretary was made a salaried position—the salary was \$5 a month!

The menace of the motor car came to Council attention early in 1908, when it urged a city ordinance to require examinations and licenses for persons driving automobiles.

Little by little, San Diego's local unions moved to demand public recognition and to accept public responsibility. In 1917, its ranks depleted by volunteering and the draft, the Council obtained representation on the Community Defense Council, foreshadowing the place for which it was drafted a quarter of a century later, in this Pacific outpost city of World War II.

Modern problems were foreshadowed then, too, when in the early Twenties the labor movement found itself embroiled in battle with a Mer-

chants and Manufacturers Association on the one hand and the soap-box radicals of the I.W.W. on the other.

It was then that local unions ordered a fine of \$25 against any member distributing I.W.W. "literature" at meetings and approved by resolution when city authorities ordered that warning flags on street excavations be changed to "some color other than red."

The 1920 files of *The Labor Leader* —it has been the official publication of the Central Council for forty-five years—show the paper crusading then on issues which are again the problems of the consumer and wage-earner.

"The rent hog," *The Labor Leader* proclaimed editorially three decades ago, "**** is the vilest biped since the beginning of time!"

The H.C.L. (high cost of living) was a menace to the laboring man then, as it is now, and *The Labor Leader* editorially scoffed at predictions that it would recede by June of 1920. In that prophecy it was correct.

While assailing the profiteers and rent hogs and ruinous price increases, the labor weekly also fought the anti-labor political programs of organized employers—the anti-strike provisions of the Cummins Bill in Congress and a proposed Criminal Syndicalism Act, patterned after (Continued on Page 31)



The A. F. of L. movement in San Diego is blessed with livewire leaders, among whom are John Quimby (left) and Max J. Osslo

Russia's Underground: *Facts and Fancy*

By RAPHAEL R. ABRAMOVITCH

IN these days of international tension and fear of possible Soviet aggression, it would certainly be a very comforting thing to know that there is in the U.S.S.R. a powerful underground movement which, with some encouragement and help from the West, would be able in the foreseeable future to overthrow the Stalin regime or at least weaken it considerably. One can well understand the feeling of the American general who, when told for the first time about such a possibility, exclaimed:

"Well, then I could go fishing!"

As one who participated actively for nearly two decades in the Russian democratic revolutionary movement against Czarism before March, 1917, and as one who has been closely connected with the struggle against the Communist dictatorship from the very beginning to the present day, I regard it as my duty to warn against illusions and exaggerated expectations with regard to the possibilities and prospects of a successful underground movement in Soviet Russia. I am afraid our generals will have to wait a while before they can go fishing.

There are in modern history some examples of underground movements which succeeded in either overthrowing despotic regimes or forcing them to reform and resign. One such underground was Russian. It functioned from 1905 to 1917. However, up to now there is no precedent of a successful revolution against a totalitarian dictatorship.

Benito Mussolini was deposed by his own party in the face of a terrible military defeat at a time when there was in Italy no underground movement of any consequence. Adolf Hitler's dictatorship was not liqui-

dated by the German underground, although efforts in that direction were made, but exclusively by the pulverizing military force of the Allies.

A totalitarian regime which rules a country by ruthless application of unlimited terror, without any regard for law and freedom and without any moral or humanitarian inhibitions, is capable of maintaining its domination for an indefinite period of time. When Hitler came to power he proclaimed that Nazi rule would last for the next thousand years. In the light of the subsequent events this claim appears as a grotesque exaggeration. However, it must be remembered that if there had been no war, he might have perpetuated his regime for a long, long time.

Only those who have lived and fought for freedom under a totalitarian regime can fully understand the meaning of my words. And only those who, like this writer, went through Czarist prisons and the prisons of the G.P.U. can appreciate the tremendous difference, so far as underground work is concerned, between a despotism of the old type (such as that of the Romanoffs) and a modern totalitarian dictatorship.

In old Russia or in the Spain of Primo de Rivera, the economic life was free from government control and the job of the individual citizen was not dependent upon the state and its police. The people were free to move about, not only within the confines of the country but abroad as well.

The few formalities which existed in Czarist Russia with regard to the issuance of passports were easily circumvented. Thus, during two decades of my revolutionary activity in Russia before 1917, I never heard of any dif-

ficulties in obtaining a passport or in going abroad and returning to Russia without a passport. Every year tens of thousands of Russian citizens, among them hundreds of agents of the revolutionary parties, crossed the borders of Russia in both directions, carrying with them letters, magazines, pamphlets, manuscripts, forbidden literature and so on.

After 1905 there was no censorship of books in Russia. At the newsstands of every large city one could buy the papers of the various political parties, including Socialist and labor publications. Foreign newspapers and magazines could be obtained or bought freely except for a few on the black-list. Private societies, clubs, literary circles, educational groups and other organizations functioned freely, and many of them served as legal bases for clandestine organizations. Only a few of these groups were infiltrated by government spies. The mail as a rule was free from control, and letters to and from foreign countries reached their destinations uncensored.

Above all, there were certain laws and freedoms which were strictly observed in old Russia. There was, for instance, the Senate—the Russian version of a Supreme Court—largely if not entirely free from and independent of government intervention. There was trial by jury. In addition, there was a very independent institution of lawyers who were free to assist political defendants and who performed this duty with courage and remarkable success.

How different is a modern totalitarian dictatorship! Under a Hitler or a Stalin even the slightest opposition to or criticism of the government or any of its agents is regarded as a

major and severely punishable crime. The job and the apartment of every citizen and the education of his children are all matters decided by the government and in which no law is respected unless required by the interests of the regime.

In a modern totalitarian dictatorship there is no justice in the accepted sense of the word. In Communist Russia today an arrested suspect is considered guilty unless he can prove beyond doubt and to the satisfaction of the N.K.V.D. commissar that he is innocent. The commissar decides arbitrarily, on the basis of his inner convictions, whether the culprit is to be punished.

The routine answer of an N.K.V.D. investigator to a man who protests his innocence is: "The N.K.V.D. never errs." And in many instances not only is the arrested person punished but his family as well.

In Communist Russia today millions of informers and spies infest the land. Every telephone line is tapped. All mail is censored. Every letter to or from a foreign country is photographed and carefully filed. Each and every printing plant is owned by the regime and closely watched by police agents. Every typewriter is registered. Every piece of paper that could be used for multiplication purposes is under surveillance. All books are published by the state publishing houses and even so they are doubly censored before appearance. Only papers and magazines of the ruling party are permitted to appear.

No citizen of the U.S.S.R. has the right or the possibility of going abroad or of freely traveling even on the Soviet side of the Iron Curtain unless permission of the police is obtained. No private associations, societies or clubs are tolerated. Even the smallest gathering must have special permission. Every overcrowded apartment in the drab tenement houses of the cities is under surveillance of the Communist neighbors and the almighty house janitor, usually a police agent.

One can understand why, under such conditions, it is practically impossible to create and to maintain even the smallest clandestine group which would not be discovered in a couple of weeks, branded as a plot against the government and liquidated. Repeated and permanent "preventive purges" nips in the bud the

smallest groups of prospective rebels.

Many Americans ask Russian anti-Bolshevik refugees why the Russian people do not overthrow the Stalin regime if it is true that the people hate it. It is a fact that the Russian people hate the regime more intensely than ever before. But physically and psychologically they are powerless to fight against it. That is the situation at the present time. It does not follow, of course, that this will be the situation forever.

If we analyze the history of Russian resistance to Bolshevik tyranny, we perceive that the possibilities of successful resistance have steadily diminished while the dissatisfaction of the population has increased considerably since 1930.

This paradoxical situation is best illustrated by a couple of facts. In February-March, 1921, the victorious Lenin government, which had just won the civil war, was forced, by the silent economic sabotage of the Russian peasant, the general strike of the Petrograd workers led by our party (the Social Democrats), the mutiny of the Kronstadt sailors, to the most humiliating retreat. Lenin was forced to proclaim the "New Economic Policy," which meant partial restoration of private capitalism in agricultural production and of free trade in the cities.

Only seven years later Stalin ordered collectivization by force of 20,000,000 Russian peasant farms. The peasants answered with desperate acts of resistance and sabotage. The number of rebellions, revolts, armed conflicts and even mutinies of Red Army units exceeded a thousand, but Stalin easily crushed the resistance of 100,000,000 embittered peasants and achieved his goal in a couple of years.

He succeeded because the highly centralized terror machine of the government, equipped with ultra-modern weapons and backed by 25,000 Communist volunteers, turned out to be vastly superior to the peasants' unarmed, leaderless, scattered and helpless acts of local resistance.

The despotic and cruel Soviet government used the most inhuman and ruthless methods of suppression. Thousands of protesting peasants were shot on the spot. The population of entire territories was surrounded and indiscriminately deported to Siberia—hundreds of thousands of men, women and children.

A few years later, in the Ukraine, the dictator deliberately organized a famine. He confiscated and withheld from the population of the villages the whole crop, letting over 5,000,000 innocent people die of starvation.

The plain people of Russia learned a cruel lesson—no matter how they loathed it, they could not overthrow the evil regime; they had to obey if they wanted to live. This feeling of utter resignation became a psychological axiom, a kind of "natural law" under Stalin's iron grip.

A few years later the ruling party itself had to learn the same bitter lesson. The purges of 1936 to 1938 struck hard at the most prominent part of the Communist aristocracy, the so-called Old Bolsheviks. Nearly half a million members of the party were excluded and deprived of all the privileges which in Stalin's Russia go with the party card. Tens of thousands were thrown into prison and subjected to medieval tortures until they "confessed" to absurd "crimes" which they had never committed. Thousands were shot. Among the victims were the proud Old Guard of Lenin.

Thus silence came over Russia. No more active resistance among the people, no more "opposition" in the party.

Only sporadically thereafter, under the impact of grave external or internal developments, small groups of personal friends would meet under the guise of a birthday party or of a business meeting in an office to discuss, behind carefully closed doors,



the situation or to day-dream about what should have happened to Joseph Stalin. Even these small groups are usually discovered and liquidated.

Only some very drastic and radical changes in the international situation or an open split in the ruling gang itself could dispel the present psychological climate of passivity and hopelessness among the people of Communist Russia. Never before that.

One can imagine therefore that I was shocked when I read in *THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST* the article, "How the Russian Underground Is Fighting Stalin's Slavery," by Constantine W. Boldyreff, an anti-Communist Russian refugee. Mr. Boldyreff in this article asserted that there is inside Communist Russia today a powerful underground movement and that this movement is chiefly the work of the N.T.S. (Solidarist) group or is led by this group of Russian refugees.

Mr. Boldyreff also suggested in his article that the N.T.S. organization is democratic and liberal, is closely connected with Russian working people and is eager to cooperate with labor abroad.

I am sorry to say that these claims are contrary to the truth. They are fantastic. The reason that they are fantastic is, as I have already indicated, that there unfortunately cannot be, in today's Russia, such a thing as an organized underground. Therefore, we must regard as fairy tales the claims of Russians, Ukrainians and others who are trying to sell the West on "underground movements," "partisan armies," etc.

Such things may yet appear. But not now. At a later moment—in case of an armed conflict between the West and the Soviet bloc—the rise of an effective underground movement might become a possibility. But it is utterly irresponsible and even dangerous to accept the idea of an organized underground in Communist Russia at the present moment or to call the Russians prematurely to armed insurrection against the existing regime.

Now I want to say a few words about the party of Mr. Boldyreff, the N.T.S. I have seen hundreds of memoirs and eyewitness accounts of Russian refugees about their activities in Russia, their prisons and the concentration camps in which they spent years. In none of these works have I come across any evidence of

the activities of the N.T.S. before the war or after the war. But there are other references to the activity of the N.T.S. during the war. And this activity consisted not of underground efforts under the Soviets but of collaboration with the Nazis in German-occupied Russian territories.

The N.T.S. was founded around 1934 by sons of old monarchists and reactionary refugees in Belgrade, with ramifications extending to Sofia and Prague. The group adopted a program based upon the Mussolini brand of fascism. When World War II came in 1939, there broke out within the N.T.S. a conflict about its orientation. A few members gravitated toward the British outlook, but the majority decided to jump on the German bandwagon. They established contact with the Nazis. When Hitler attacked the Soviet Union and occupied a part of European Russia, the young N.T.S. men flocked to Berlin.

Hitler wanted no Russian political parties or Russian political activities in the occupied territories. He banned all Russian emigrés from en-

It is never too late to give up
our prejudices. —Thoreau.

tering his freshly conquered lands. Only for the N.T.S. people was an exception made. They were permitted to go to Byelo-Russia and to the Northern parts of Russia, there to be helpful to the Germans as reliable intermediaries between the Russian population and the minor Nazi gauleiters.

The N.T.S. organization today emphasizes the point that ultimately many of its members were arrested and imprisoned by the Nazis. This is true. But what does it prove? Nazi orientations during the war underwent many changes. The Nazis arrested their own people often enough.

A few quotations directly from "the horse's mouth" will show what kind of organization the N.T.S. really is. They are taken from a booklet published by the N.T.S. in 1944 under the title: "Blueprint for a National Laborite Order." This program is, in essence, pure fascism and even Nazism.

The N.T.S. blueprint calls for government for the people—every program claims that, of course—but not

government *of* the people and, by no means, government *by* the people. The backbone of the "new state" would be the "leading stratum," which, to all practical purposes, means the N.T.S. party. There would be no democratic elections, which are represented as a "fake," and no parliament. The ruler of the state would be the supreme source of law. There would be no political parties and no free labor unions.

When Hitler Germany collapsed, the N.T.S. people abandoned the Nazis and went to the American and British authorities, pretending to have been all along "secret allies of the Western democracies." They changed their program. But if one reads carefully the N.T.S. program of 1948, one finds—more or less skillfully disguised—all the elements of the Fascist fundamentals of their philosophy: the "fuehrer" principle, the idea of a leading stratum or élite and anti-Semitism. In none of the N.T.S. documents since the end of the war is there found any repudiation of the 1944 proclamation of a policy of hostility toward the Jews in Russia.

But the N.T.S. possesses the usual dynamism of Fascists, and it has the art of self-advertising developed to the highest degree. This group is a chameleon. It has two programs, one for the West and the other one for internal use. It will subscribe to anything in order to get material and moral assistance from the Western democracies which would enable it to come to power with foreign help.

The N.T.S. has the Machiavellian idea that the end justifies the means. It will fabricate in order to win its way into the confidence of the West, and I am afraid it has already succeeded in this purpose.

The N.T.S. is already the trusted and favored son of some sections of the U.S. and British Intelligence Services. The same men who trained Russian agents of the Nazis during the recent war are now training GIs in Regensburg.

Mr. Boldyreff, the salesman of the N.T.S. in Washington, seems to be a preferred authority and adviser on Russian affairs.

Will the West abolish the Communist brand of totalitarianism only to put in the saddle the Fascist brand? As long as it is not too late, American labor should carefully scrutinize this problem.

The San Diego Story

(Continued from Page 27)

California's. The issue of February 6, 1920, quoted Gompers as saying that the Syndicalism Act, masquerading as a curb on radicalism, "would strike a deadly blow at legitimate organizations of labor or any other progressive element."

The Great Depression, by Prosperity out of Normalcy (may history not repeat that pedigree), ended that earlier postwar period, and it was Pearl Harbor that drafted San Diego's labor movement into something like the community status it now occupies.

The Day of Infamy brought the Pacific war clouds very close to San Diego, with its magnificent harbor centering a network of Navy installations and aircraft plants. As the first blackout killed the city's lights, unity among its people was grimly real, and in the immediate pooling of energies for a common cause, San Diego "discovered" union labor—labor's manpower, its discipline, its experienced leadership, its patriotism.

Monday morning, December 8, 1941, thirteen hundred Teamsters and Millmen spontaneously ended a nine-day walkout, leaving the outcome of a bitter dispute to arbitration.

On Page 1 of *The Labor Leader* a bulletin began:

"To all A. F. of L. members! Go immediately to your local union headquarters and register for civilian emergency duty. * * *

The city's first full blackout canceled that week's Council meeting, but organized labor outsped every other segment of the populace in mobilizing for war. Enlistments more than decimated the membership rolls, manpower for war production became an acute problem, and labor-industry cooperation assumed a new importance. Labor's key men suddenly became key men in the community.

Some names are in order: Robert E. Noonan, then secretary of the Council, now stationed at Washington headquarters of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Max J. Osslo, business manager of the Butchers, now a vice-president of the State Federation and president of the Western Federation of Butchers;

K. G. Bitter, then secretary of the Building Trades Council, now a contractor; Walter DeBrunner, wartime president of the Building Trades Council, now its business representative; Jack Poteet, long-time secretary of the parent local of Teamsters; John W. Quimby, then circulation manager of *The Labor Leader* and now secretary of the Central Council; C. O. (Spud) Taylor of the Millmen, veteran labor man and wartime president of the Council.

A hundred more should be listed, but these were the men early drafted



Council Secretary Quimby chats with young lady who sang at recent state convention

by the community as it called upon labor's organized might.

Osslo was the Council's first liaison man with the Community Chest and War Chest. Into the latter labor poured more than \$250,000. (Osslo, a big man, a terrific producer, headed up the big jubilee in 1949 and was general chairman of arrangements for the recent State Federation of Labor convention in San Diego.) Labor's wartime warfare on the black market was one of a dozen community campaigns to Osslo's credit.

Quimby, already the work-horse of the movement, geared labor into the first big wartime drive for the Red Cross—a dramatic success. Noonan was labor's wartime policy man, the executive, who saw to it that wherever labor's aid was needed—on draft boards, rationing boards, manpower committees and the like—the A. F. of L. was represented by the ablest available man or woman.

To make labor's no-strike pledge effective, the Executive Board set up

an informal mediation service. Quick-acting, 100 per cent efficient in the war years, the formula still functions in San Diego today.

Through immediate liaison with contractors, the building trades handled one of the world's biggest housing projects, Linda Vista, without loss of a single man-hour in labor disputes.

Almost automatically, then, the movement engaged in its first full-scale venture in public relations. *The Labor Leader* began to win outside circulation. A group of unions bought local radio time and put on a comment program five nights a week. Managed by Quimby, the program was later sponsored by the Central

Council itself and ran for more than three years.

For the state election in 1942, when California's notorious Hot Cargo Act was the issue, the Council built up the most elaborate publicity and precinct organization labor had ever undertaken in San Diego.

However, the powerful anti-labor elements—with headline collaboration by the city's one daily newspaper—turned on the wartime heat, and the irony of hostile public sentiment at the height of labor's greatest usefulness was dramatized in the election returns.

The Hot Cargo Act, which was to be erased years later by the State Supreme Court, carried San Diego by 15,000 votes in 1942.

That blow, however, was very far from fatal.

At the time it fell, every important wartime agency in the city had labor representation and labor cooperation, and the same was true of every major welfare agency. From donors giving blood for shipment of plasma overseas to labor leaders aiding research for the new Community Welfare Council, the organized labor movement was everywhere active.

And recognition, though not the prime objective, steadily increased. Even the recorded headlines in a hostile newspaper prove labor's progress in that field. That 1942 political disaster actually helped stimulate and educate labor in its working contact with public affairs.

Political action remains a problem of labor in San Diego—as where is it not?—but in public relations, achieve-

ment is measurable. Already tradition in San Diego insists on labor's voice in the Civic Unity Committee, in the San Diego Disaster Council, in the Community Welfare Council, in the Blood Bank (maintained by the County Medical Society) and in the Red Cross Blood Recruitment Board.

Building trades workmen and union contractors contributed jointly to build the new Boy Scout headquarters, and labor is represented on the Scouts' directorate. Labor holds directorships with the Salvation Army, the Red Cross, the Community Chest, the Camp Fire Girls, with Travelers' Aid.

The S.D. Boys' Club was built very largely with labor for free—one of dozens of local demonstrations that unionism is a true community asset, a help where a worthy cause needs help.

Outstanding is the part played by the Women's Auxiliary Council. Formed only four years ago, it is already the inspiration for similar councils in two other California cities. Still guided by its first president, Mrs. Gertrude E. Alcaraz, it has handled assignments ranging from the reception of President Truman on his "give 'em hell" tour in 1948 to the gift of

hand-made toys and doll clothes to child victims of cerebral palsy. Its achievements in goodwill are immense.

Today it is tradition—not pressure, not even negotiation—that assigns labor its place in San Diego civic activity.

It is a far cry, indeed, back to the days when the union card was a guilty secret, as far a cry in fact, though not in years, as back to the historic day when a gray Franciscan padre planted the palm tree that still stands green and flourishing at the foot of Presidio Hill.

Communism—Enemy of Labor

(Continued from Page 11)

of a personal potentate or a ruling clique. They did not make the practice of tyranny a specialized vocation.

To my mind, this is the utter terror of communism: It is a tyranny *systematically planned and scientifically executed*. There is nothing hit-and-miss, haphazard or accidental. The Communist masters, utilizing blueprints of destruction prepared by Marx, Engels and Stalin, are attempting, with purposive intention, to recast the world. Their tyranny is thought out, premeditated and calculated. Twentieth Century tyranny, deliberately perfected and refined for the subjugation of the entire human race—that is communism.

This point becomes obvious: *There can be no compromise with communism.* There are those, perhaps from little faith, lack of knowledge or evil intentions, who advocate that democracy must come to terms with communism.

"Live and let live"—that is the motto of this school of thought. But to accept this philosophy is to whet the appetite of the Communist gauleiter.

You cannot compromise with evil. To do so is to invite the most terrible disaster.

Communism is geared to the conquest of the world. We as citizens of a free nation, dedicated to the advancement of liberty, justice and the happiness of the individual, must fight—long and hard—against this evil and pernicious influence. This is the task facing every patriotic American—to lower our gunsights one iota is to betray the traditions of

our forefathers. If we accept this premise, we will be prepared to carry our banners on to victory.

The Communists in the United States, as in other areas of the world, have attempted to infiltrate, subvert and, if possible, capture labor unions. They realize that labor unions play a vitally important role in the nation's economy, and their control would be absolutely essential for the success of the Communist revolution.

They have labored long years, never resting or despairing. Communist strategy in the labor field occupies a high position of interest in practically every Communist meeting. Special Communist leaders are assigned to labor union work. Literature, pamphlets, petitions are designed for distribution among labor union members.

The Communist Party, U.S.A., at the present moment rates labor union endeavor a top priority. In fact, the Communist Party maintains a National Labor Department headed by a top-flight national Communist leader. The function of this group is to organize the infiltration of labor

organization and to recruit new members.

American labor unions have done magnificent work in fighting the Communist menace. The nation owes them a tremendous debt of gratitude. Frequently, long before other sections of American life realized the menace, American labor leaders were fighting, day and night, against the entrenchment of Red fascism in their organizations.

I RECALL the fighting words of William Green, distinguished president of the American Federation of Labor, delivered at the graduation exercises of the fourteenth session of the F.B.I. National Academy, in Washington, D. C., on June 29, 1940. These words showed a vivid recognition of the evil facing the nation:

"The various brands of totalitarianism which have engulfed Continental Europe—whether their label be Nazi, Communist or Fascist—are hostile to America and to everything which Americans hold dear. They are contradictory to our form of government."

The keen perception of Mr. Green and other leaders of American labor has contributed, in large measure, to educating Americans to the evil character of communism. The American Federation of Labor can today be proud of its distinguished record, compiled over the years, in combatting the enemies of free government.

Samuel Gompers helped found the American Federation of Labor as an organization in the best traditions of America. Its leaders and members are today keeping that flame of honor shining brightly.

American labor leaders, local, state and national, are in an especially

NEXT MONTH

Don't miss the October issue. We intend to present, for your enlightenment and enjoyment, vivid reports on the San Francisco convention of the American Federation of Labor and the meetings of Labor's League for Political Education, the A. F. of L. Departments and the International Labor Press of America. This number of labor's magazine will be one that you will want to read and keep for future reference. Watch for the October issue.

advantageous position to expose the Communist. They have met the Communist agitator face to face—in the plant, at union meetings, distributing literature at the front gate. They have heard him expound his diatribe of hate at the lunch hour, have seen him smuggle the *Daily Worker* to fellow employees. They realize that he is selling a false product, attempting to lure his associates into a blind alley of despair.

These labor leaders, in the truest sense of the term, are today standing on the front lines in this gigantic conflict.

And these patriotic labor leaders went to work, step by step eliminating the pockets of Communist strength in unions. During the war, as is well known, the Communists were able in certain areas to make successful forays. Numerous locals, including some entire unions, were captured. In other locals Communist influence, exerted directly and indirectly, was high.

In line with basic Marxist-Leninist strategy, the Communists were able to exert an influence completely out of proportion to their actual numbers. By actual count the Communists numbered few. But by Communist maneuvers, exploiting the lack of interest of non-Communist members and acting together as a disciplined minority, they were able to achieve selected breakthroughs in the ranks of labor.

The Communists, though posing as the protectors of the working man, had but one aim—how could they best help the Communist Party? To promote the interests of the union is secondary. For Communists the union exists only as a stepping-stone to the realization of Communist strategy.

Today Communist influence among the ranks of organized labor is greatly reduced. Labor unions, with a few exceptions, have done an excellent, thorough and effective job of house-cleaning. This is as it should be. The enemy has been eliminated, through democratic methods, by patriotic Americans acting within their own groups.

This is the grass-roots Americanism which is so inspiring and encouraging—that citizens are alert, see the enemy in their midst and then, in the best traditions of American

life, proceed to eradicate the evil influence. This spirit of Americanism reborn is a record of which American labor can be well proud.

The F.B.I. is the governmental agency charged with the protection of the internal security of the nation. If you possess information about espionage, sabotage or subversive activities, report it immediately to the nearest office of the F.B.I. The F.B.I. needs the help of every patriotic citizen. The task is one for all of us.

The fight against communism is not over. Not at all. The Communists realize they have suffered drastic setbacks. But, again true to Communist strategy, they are regrouping, reattacking and refortifying their offensive arsenals. They are again hammering away and, if they find a weak spot, they'll pour through. Your job, as a labor union member, is to keep the fortress well guarded. Don't allow the culprit in!

In the Communist Party's fifteenth national convention held in New York City in December, 1950, the labor union field loomed high on the discussion agenda. For example, the main resolution adopted by the convention contained the following words:

"The party national convention calls upon the whole party to establish guarantees that a real policy of industrial concentration will be carried forward * * * for by winning the workers in these industries we will be influencing the thinking and actions of the entire labor movement.

A thorough shaking up is required in the party on this score. The base of the party is not yet sufficiently broad among factory workers. Also, the fact that the party is not yet predominately composed of industrial workers becomes in itself a factor tending to pull the party away from its concentration plans, year after year."

That is a call for action.

And what does "a thorough shaking up" mean? Henry Winston, national organization secretary of the party, discussing the resolution, posed this question before the convention. And here is his answer—which shows the importance being attached today to the labor field by the Communist Party.

"It means that an immediate and drastic change must be made on all levels of leadership so that 90 per

cent of its work is devoted to the task of uniting the ranks of the workers, and winning them for support of our party's policies."

Ninety per cent! This work is vital to the Communists! I submit it is equally as important to you. Here is your challenge.

Just how does the Communist Party plan to increase its activity in your union? Winston answers:

"The building of the shop club." That is, a Communist unit in your shop.

He emphasizes there is no foolproof blueprint for doing this. Many factors must be considered: "Night and day shifts, rotating shifts, departments, etc."

"Each club must develop a concentration policy"—translated from Communist double talk, this means setting up a howl about some grievance, real or feigned, and then attempting to keep it alive, even defying arbitration—"within the plant, aiming to build the party on a department and shift level among the most exploited section of the workers."

Hence, first of all a Communist shop club should be built, aiming to develop a "concentration issue." Now, according to Winston, the shop club, in addition, must "concern itself with the circulation of the *Daily Worker* and *The Worker*, with the issuance of shop papers, and improving the work of its members within the unions."

He then goes on to point out that the shop club, in order to be successful, must have a work plan—meeting programs should be prepared in advance, members kept busy with assignments, meetings held regularly and dues payments promptly collected. This is communism in action—how it may be operating in your plant.

Let's take a closeup view and see the Communists in action on a specific issue, "peace." At the present time the topic of "peace" is the Communist Party's No. 1 interest.

Now, in Communist eyes, "peace" means the ultimate victory of communism. To the Communist, "peace" cannot come until the entire non-Communist world has been conquered. This means, most naturally, a Soviet America. But the word "peace" gives the Communists a good talking point. They are constantly calling for "peace," circulating pe-

titions for "peace" (the Stockholm petitions, for example), and urging citizens to demand "peace" (the first step of which would be an American pledge not to use the atom bomb.)

"Peace committees" have been set up; they may be working in your union. Communist workers are circulating literature, pamphlets, petitions, asking your support for their cause. They are hard workers, putting in long hours, standing in the rain and snow, braving the scorn of fellow workers. They are militant—therein lies their strength.

One party leader commented:
"The basic objective of a Com-

munist is to win the confidence of his shop-mates; the workers will accept the leadership of a Communist in the shop or union and defend him when such a Communist is known as a friend, as a tireless fighter for the workers' interests, as a fearless and sensible fighter."

That is Communist strategy—and Communist double talk. A Communist can never become the friend of the American worker. We need only remember the comment of that old-time Communist, rising to his feet in the Communist council meeting—"they are not voted out of office—they are shot."

Here lies the real meaning of communism, the brutality, terror and deceit which is tyranny.

The position of America must remain firm. We will be victorious and the banner of freedom will remain aloft if each citizen will take his place on the ramparts of freedom.

There stand the men of labor today, fighting for their native America. This is the spirit of your great president, Mr. William Green, when he uttered these stirring words:

"We have never compromised with the foes of the United States and we never will."

Labor NEWS BRIEFS

►Division 241, Street and Electric Railway Employees, Chicago, has reached a new accord with the Chicago Transit Authority which calls for a seven-cent hourly increase, three cents more next January and an additional four cents on June 1, 1952. This union has achieved steady progress over the past thirty years without resort to the strike weapon.

►A. F. of L. building trades unions have won a victory at Jasper, Ind., where the Dubois Rural Electric Cooperative, Inc., has agreed to employ members of the Electrical Workers, Steamfitters and Sheet Metal Workers.

►Twenty-five hundred New York City beltmakers, members of the Ladies' Garment Workers Union, have won retirement benefits as well as wage increases.

►Local 639, Street and Electric Railway Employees, has reached an agreement with the Lexington Railway System, Lexington, Ky., providing for a wage increase of 12 cents an hour.

►A. F. of L. unions in Michigan sugar plants have been successful in winning N.L.R.B. elections conducted recently at Eebewaing, Alma and Caro.

►Five A. F. of L. unions have won bargaining rights for the workers in the employ of the Frontier Refining plant located at Cheyenne, Wyo.

►Gordon H. Cole, editor of the weekly newspaper published by the International Association of Machinists, is co-author of "Picnic Meals," a cook booklet designed to make meals more pleasant for members of union families who carry lunches—to work, to school or to picnics. The other author is Gertrude Blair, home economist.

►Local 222 of the Bakery Workers, Portland, Ore., has gained an increase of six cents an hour and the employers have agreed to join in petitioning the Wage Stabilization Board for an additional raise of six cents an hour.

►Local 107, Laundry Workers, has completed negotiations with laundry owners in Oregon and Washington cities. Wage increases across the board are provided. The new agreement covers members of the Laundry Workers in Portland and Oregon City, Ore., and Vancouver, Camas, Washougal and Battle Ground, Wash.

►Local 158 of the Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers International Union, Diamond Springs, Calif., has won a wage increase of eight cents an hour in an agreement reached with the Diamond Springs Lime Company.



A. F. of L. Auto Workers present a \$100 defense bond to Einar Ingman of Local 849, winner of Congressional Medal of Honor

Manpower Crisis Ahead

(Continued from Page 14)

Shortage of teachers able to provide the necessary training is already here.

Our institutions of higher learning are still closed to most young people except the children of the well-to-do. We have already started down the dangerous and undemocratic path of providing deferments for college students, reserving the privilege of learning for the financially privileged.

Action is needed—far-reaching action—to make the manning of the defense job possible. The first responsibility rest with Congress. It must act on aids to housing, community facilities, child care and industrial training to prime the flow of skills to jobs.

The second responsibility is with the defense agencies. Manpower has been an orphan in defense mobilization. Under programs developed with the help of the Department of Labor, contract allocation and procurement directives must give effect to man-

power policies, not in words but in deeds.

The third responsibility rests on the local communities. It is there that planning must begin and guidance be initiated.

The final and greatest responsibility rests on labor and management. There is no substitute for the immense resources of labor and management for mobilizing voluntary effort toward better training and more effective distribution and use of skills.

Labor-management manpower committees are being set up in most industrial areas throughout the country. It is for them to point the way.

We cannot afford to fail to develop a bold manpower program based on voluntary action. The alternative is compulsion. Once we resort to compulsion to do the task of democracy's defense, we will lose the very freedom we are preparing to defend.

Helping Asia's Workers

(Continued from Page 17)

prints of the famous I.L.G.W.U. cinema, "With These Hands." It is a powerful film. It shows how free and determined workers can go from sweatshop conditions to a high standard of living—through self-help.

A harried local official had been trying for months to get the U.S.I.S. to dub in a local language, for none of the workers could understand English. Months passed and, when I last heard, the necessary authorization still had not been received. Dollars spent in bringing that magnificent and enlightening film to Asia were wasted because of creaking bureaucracy or inattention.

In another country I chatted with a U.S.I.S. official. He was all for labor, he said; believed in unions—you know the line. Then I asked him:

"How many labor films do you show in this country?"

He coughed, replied:

"Well, we don't have any labor films in stock as yet—"

I had the distinct impression that, at the rate they were progressing, the first labor movie the workers in that country will see may be "Labor in the Soviet Union" or "Life at the Glorious Dalny Slave Labor Camp."

Anti-Communist material we must disseminate in order to etch clearly the slave nature of the Soviet tyranny. But we also have to do the positive job, the constructive job. *We have to pass on the know-how of free trade unionism.*

The members of the American Federation of Labor are spending many dollars throughout Asia trying to help people to help themselves. But if our government and its Information Service at this date believe that basic trade union know-how information is "controversial," I think the time has come to have a frank discussion with the officials of this, *our "organization,"* and set them straight.

Communism has nothing but chains and slave labor camps to offer the workers of Asia. Our democratic way of life offers the workers of Asia a fund of know-how which will help the workers and peasants of Asia to help themselves, thus striking at the violence of economic exploitation in Asia while maintaining the full dignity of the workers and peasants of Asia.

For certainly we are all agreed that while we contain communism, we will only conquer communism with a better and more positive idea—and that is *revolutionary democracy*. We can and we are doing the job. Let's all work together and really share our trade union know-how with every worker and peasant of Asia. For, in the final analysis, it is not guns alone, not dollar aid that will aid Asia but ideas—positive, vibrant, practical ideas of how to help yourself.

Let's be on with the job! Only the democratic revolution will conquer the Communist counter-revolution!

*If you sincerely value
our free way of life*



**ATTEND AND TAKE PART
IN YOUR UNION'S MEETINGS**

WHAT THEY SAY

President Truman—We can have peace only if we have justice and fair dealing among nations. The United Nations is the best means we have for deciding what is right and what is wrong between nations. It is a great attempt to

make the moral judgment of mankind effective in international affairs. Nothing is more important if mankind is to overcome the barbarian doctrine that might makes right. Our best chance of keeping the peace and staying free is for nations that believe in freedom to stick together and to build their strength together. This is what we call collective security. We have been trying, since the last war was over, and even before, to build a system of collective security among all those countries that really believe in the principles of the United Nations. I think we have made a lot of progress. I know that some people have become impatient with our efforts to establish collective security because we have not yet succeeded in attaining world peace. But we are on the right road.

Maurice J. Tobin, Secretary of Labor—Most people

have learned to read of killings and robberies in newspapers with the realization that these things are the exceptions and not the rule in American life. But too many fail to apply the same stories of strikes and labor-management disputes. It cannot be pointed out too often that most of the workers and most of the employers settle their problems most of the time in a peaceful way. The newspapers emphasize the strike rather than the peaceful settlement because the strike is the exception. If it were the rule, it wouldn't be news. The number of man-days lost



through strikes in the United States last year was only one-half of one per cent of the number of man-days worked. Collective bargaining has become the key to industrial peace in the United States. Collective bargaining is what the government is counting on most heavily in this critical defense period to keep stoppages of production at an absolute minimum. Labor and management have worked together to meet the problems of the plant. They must work together to meet the problems of the nation.

Blair Moody, U. S. Senator from Michigan—What can the workers of

America do to assure a Congress more devoted to the public welfare? I think the first step is to establish, within the ranks of organized labor, an understanding of

just what is the public welfare, what is best for a majority of citizens. Then, if the workers find they have a Congressman who truly represents the people's interests, start talking him up now; don't wait until the primary or the election. If, on the other hand, it is found that your Congressman is not responsive to the public will and the public need, start now to expose him and his record. Then begin the task of selecting and grooming for candidacy one who will be devoted to the public welfare, so that when primary election time comes the voters will know your man and have confidence in him. But it does no good to engender enthusiasm for a candidate if the people cannot vote. And the people cannot vote if they are not registered. Are you registered? Is your next-door neighbor registered? How about the fellow on the next machine? And then—get out the vote! Only when the overwhelming majority of the people exercise their voting privilege (and when did this happen last?) can the public welfare said to be truly represented. This may sound elementary. But isn't it true? I believe the time to start work is now.



Let not the objective be to elect a labor government but rather to elect a people's government with the aid of labor.

Raymond F. Lehene, secretary-treasurer, Union Label Trades Department—Unions were originally organized for just one thing—to better the wages, working conditions and living conditions of the men and women who toil.

Whenever these unions reach an impasse where the usual procedures of collective bargaining seem inadequate, then—as a last resort—the members are asked to demonstrate their economic power by going on strike. But there is an additional way to show our economic power which, if all members of unions and their families stick together, would also attain great results for all workers. This other way is to take the union label pledge: "I promise to patronize firms which display the union label, shop card or union button." And then keep the pledge.

Alex Rose, president, United Haters, Cap and Millinery Workers—Too many of us fail to vote. Even worse, too many of us fail to think about and consider our vote. Too many of us follow the advice of some self-serving political hench-



man or the campaign ballyhoo of a political machine which we know lives by chicanery and prospers by corruption. Our negligence and lack of interest in political activity cost us dearly. What is the cure? How can we overcome the criminals in high and low places? Not by throwing up our hands in disgust. What we need is more political activity. What we need is to have the people who foot the bill become actively interested in politics on a year-round basis and not in the final quarter of a heated campaign. By all means engage in politics. It is your own bread and butter that is at stake, the welfare of your community and your family.

A UNION FAMILY, U. S. A.

WITH the beginning of school the Linden household went on schedule again. There were no more late-morning sleeps, no more meals at odd hours when someone wandered into the kitchen to raid the ice-box. No more staying up late to look at television.

The family of Mr. and Mrs. George Linden, with their three children, Joan, Beth and Billy, settled down again to the routine of school days. From Monday to Friday the days began at 7:15, with breakfast a half hour later, and the three children and their father drove off at 8:30 so that Mr. Linden could drop Joan and Beth at Junior High School, leave Billy at the Southport Elementary School and then continue on to his office to be there by 9.

As they all cleared out of her way, Mrs. Linden sighed. Then she had another cup of coffee.

"I mustn't forget to get the meat for dinner and I'll need several other things, too," she said to herself as she sat at the little table to make out her marketing list. She thought, "Just what was it Beth and Joan were talking about for Saturday? They are supposed to fix something for the hike, but what?"

She tried to remember, then gave it up. At the time the girls had been telling her, Billy had come in with his knees skinned and one elbow bleeding. She had gone upstairs to apply first aid and give comfort to the young warrior.

"Oh, well, they'll be home soon enough. If there is anything urgent, they will have time to get the things for me after school, so I'll not go to market."

At lunch-time Billy raced in.

"Get to hurry, Mom, I'm going to walk back with Benjie, and he says for me not to be late."

"Lunch is all ready, son. Wash your hands and eat," she said, as she served him his food. "Don't forget your milk."

"Mom, why do kids all have to drink milk?"

"To grow strong and well. Even grown-ups drink it, you know."

"Yeah, I guess so," said Billy as

he ate another sandwich. "You drinking yours?"

"Yes, honey, I'm drinking mine."

In a few minutes Benjie was calling for Billy, and the two lads started back to school in the warm September sunshine.

It was soon after 3 o'clock when the girls came in, bringing into the quiet of the house their exuberant spirits.

"Oh, mother, did you get the stuff for us for the hike?" called Joan from her room. She had gone upstairs to change from her school dress into her faded jeans and T shirt.

"She wouldn't get the stuff today," interjected Beth. "We don't go on the hike until Saturday, Joan."

"Yes, I know," answered Joan. "But you know how mother always likes to have a little warning when it comes to getting things ready." Her voice was muffled a little as she pulled the shirt over her head.

"Girls," called Mrs. Linden. "Come down as soon as you can. I didn't quite understand what you wanted about the hike. Then, too, I want you to get your bikes and ride over to the store for me. I have a list ready."

"But, Mom, we were going to—" Beth began, but Joan checked her.

"We'll be right down," Joan called. To Beth she said: "We have time to get the groceries for mother before we see the kids. We don't have to be at Tom's before 4:30. You know we have plenty of time."

As the girls came downstairs Mrs. Linden handed over the list and gave them a few instructions.

"Come right back with the things," she said, "and put them where they belong. I'm going to go over past Mrs. Cowan's house. Billy is to stop there after school, and I'll bring him on home. I may be gone a little while, as Ethel and I have some visiting to do while the boys play."

"Mother, after we go to the store can we go over to Tom and Dorothy's?" asked Beth. "We are having a meeting about the hike."

"Yes, but be home in time for supper. By the way, do you need your things for Saturday now?"

"Oh, no. In fact, we aren't quite

sure just what we will need until after our meeting."

That night, as the two girls did the supper dishes, Mr. and Mrs. Linden sat in the living room and talked over the events of the day.

"Were you pretty busy?" asked Mrs. Linden.

"Oh, sure. Ever see a business agent who wasn't busy? We are getting things in shape for the convention. I'm sure glad our men are so enthusiastic. There's just a chance I'll get sent to San Francisco to the American Federation of Labor convention. I'd sure like to go, but if I can't make it, I don't know who I'd rather have go than Jesse. Will you miss me if I go?" This last was asked with a grin.

"Of course, dear, but I do hope you get to. Wouldn't it be wonderful? And now I have some news, too. Ethel Cowan says I'm to be nominated for president of the Auxiliary if I'll accept the office. I told her I would have to talk it over with you. It would take a lot of my time away from you and the children. What do you think?"

"Well, the kids are in school now. I think you can manage, honey. It's the busy people who get the most done, you know. And I, for one, hope you get elected if nominated. I'm in favor of it. In fact, I think they show rare good judgment in picking you."

"All I can say," Mrs. Linden said, "is that we are certainly a union family. Joan and Beth are both on important committees for their Junior Union and even little Billy got in a fight after school today with some youngster who said unions weren't any good. At least, I think that was the cause of the fight."

"Did he get hurt?" asked Billy's father.

"Not so you'd notice. He may have a bruise or two show up by morning, but he's fine in spirit."

"I guess that goes for us all," said her husband. "We're all busy and interested and willing to work for what we know is good for us and for America. I'm certainly proud the Lindens are a 100 per cent trade union family!"

To Be Successful, You Must Be
WELL-INFORMED

COUNCIL DRAFTS REPORT FOR THE A.F.O.L. CONVENTION

The American
FEDERATIONIST

AUGUST 1931
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WILLIAM GREEN
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